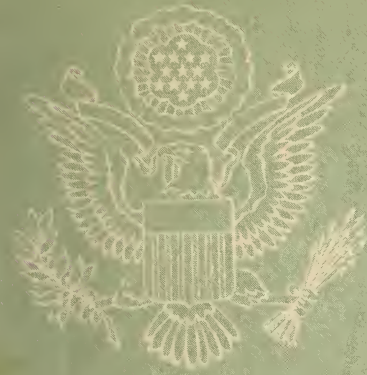


~~James P. Bloomfield~~

~~10 Mrs. Hatley~~

Return to

IO/UNP - ~~W. Wellman~~



*United States
Participation
in the United Nations*

Report by the
President to the
Congress for the
Year 1949 ☆ ☆

United States
Participation in the
United Nations



REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE
YEAR 1949 ON THE ACTIVITIES
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND
THE PARTICIPATION OF THE
UNITED STATES THEREIN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 3765

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND ORGANIZATION SERIES III, 48

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President to the Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith to the Congress, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, my fourth annual report on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States. This report for the year 1949 tells an impressive story of accomplishment, much of which we are prone to overlook in the clamor of daily difficulties. I commend it to the careful reading of all our citizens.

The Charter of the United Nations is a contract among the members to settle their disputes peacefully and to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples for the building and maintenance of a durable world order.

We support the United Nations and keep this contract because the Charter expresses our fundamental aims in the modern world. We know that the fulfillment of the Charter will best advance our own vital interests—to attain peace with justice, to assure freedom, and to bring about economic and social progress, for ourselves and all peoples. It is for this reason that support of the United Nations is and must be Point 1 of our foreign policy.

Most of the nations of the world share these objectives and are working through the United Nations to achieve them. They therefore tend increasingly toward common judgments on the great issues confronting mankind. The decisions of the United Nations in 1949 show to a greater extent than in previous years that the convictions of the world's peoples on matters of fundamental concern have become clear and firm with the lessons of postwar experience.

Relations among nations have never been, and probably never will be, free from difficulties. The intensity of the East-West conflict has obscured the fact that certain critical disputes have arisen from purely local conflicts and that many such problems would continue to confront nations even if relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world were far different from what they are today. In a time of swift and profound change like the present, questions of adjustment of views and interests among nations are more numerous and urgent than at any previous period in history. There are few international problems that fail to confront us with the need of making decisions on the policy we should follow or the national attitude we should express in the United Nations and in our direct relations with other

states. These problems make daily demands of us for sober judgment and strength of spirit and purpose. They make the same of every nation seeking to carry out the Charter.

The United Nations is an organization to help members resolve international difficulties. It is also a mirror in which the state of world affairs is reflected. We cannot expect from the United Nations immediate solutions of problems as large and complex as many that are before it. But already we have seen how, by its debates and decisions, it is helping to guide the nations into the ways of peace. To the extent that solutions of problems are delayed or are obtained piecemeal, we must be realistically prepared to live with them. Persistent effort through the United Nations is an expression of our faith that these problems can be solved.

This faith is not misplaced. Experience is demonstrating that the United Nations processes of debate, consultation, conciliation, and agreement are capable of bringing about the peaceful settlement of disputes wherever both sides fundamentally respect reason and pledged undertakings above force. The report for 1949 shows how greatly the United Nations has contributed to the settlement of the Indonesian dispute, how it has brought an end to the fighting in Palestine and in Kashmir, and how it continues to work energetically toward further progress in the solution of these disputes. Many lives have been saved through the success of the United Nations in moving such conflicts indoors—from battlegrounds to conference tables.

The power of the United Nations today is that of moral force. Such force gathers its strength slowly, but it does so surely. No nation can ignore the question of how its actions will appear in the world forums of the United Nations. No nation, member or non-member, attending or nonattending, can avoid accountability before the United Nations for actions affecting the peace. The aroused opinion of mankind, when brought to sharp and immediate focus as it often is in the United Nations, is not lightly to be dismissed, even by a nation that has strong battalions.

Much of the useful work of the United Nations is and should be long-range in character. In some of its fields, the tasks are those of development over many years, as in the steady and seemingly prosaic steps toward the building up of international economic and social health through cooperative relations among all nations desiring to help each other. It is in such far-flung and manifold activities no less than in its efforts to handle critical tensions that the United Nations is creating fundamental conditions necessary for the growth of peace. The report I submit this year gives to this work the fuller attention it merits. It shows that in economic and social fields the United Nations is becoming increasingly effective in improving the daily life of millions of people. In 1949 the Economic and Social Council pro-

posed, and the General Assembly unanimously adopted, a program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas which is directed toward the goal I outlined as Point IV in my inaugural address. This program of the United Nations offers solid promise for world advancement.

By related programs, the United Nations is promoting economic development in regional areas and in various fields of endeavor. Through a program of public works started in the Near East, jobless and homeless refugees can find new homes and the foundation of self-reliance through beneficial employment rather than relief alone. Special training fellowships are being given by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to hundreds of students for study. Upon request, experts are being sent to demonstrate in underdeveloped areas the advanced knowledge and techniques which the local peoples can put to practical use. Expert missions in the fields of public administration and finance, agriculture, medicine and health, social problems, and labor matters have been sent to many countries on request of governments to tackle urgent problems that stand in the way of improved standards of living. All this work will be further intensified as the expanded program of technical assistance is put in operation.

In other fields also, progress is being pressed. The new Field Service and Panel of Field Observers provide specialized help for commissions of peaceful settlement. It has been agreed that two of the former Italian colonies, Libya and Italian Somaliland, are to become independent states. The advancement of trust areas and other non-self-governing territories is steadily being fostered through the cooperation of the administering states and the United Nations. On legal questions it is gratifying to observe the gradual increase in the use of the International Court of Justice. Respect for and dependence upon the processes of law are essential in the building of the better world order.

These constructive activities have been overshadowed by the unsolved problems arising from the policies and acts of the Soviet Union which lead to tension and impairment of security in international relations. The United Nations rendered a great service during 1949 by asserting, in the notable resolution of the General Assembly on "Essentials of Peace," the standards of conduct necessary to restore international confidence. Each of the 53 members other than the Communist states represented in the United Nations gave its support to this fundamental call for action to build peace. By this and other steps, the United Nations made it clear that the great issues of security in the postwar period are between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world at large and that these issues arise from failures by the Soviet Union to conform its conduct to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The international control of atomic energy stands foremost among the urgent matters calling for agreement. Effective international regulation of armaments and armed forces is a related problem of urgency.

Our experiences during 1949 in the United Nations provided further demonstration that, as the Secretary of State has recently stated, agreements with the Soviet Union and its satellites are valid only as and when they record existing situations of fact. It is not enough to hope for agreement or to make proposals; it is essential to create the conditions under which it will be to the interest of the Soviet Union to enter into and to keep agreements. All international activities which create moral, economic, and military strength among the nations of the free world will broaden the area of possible agreement and hasten its coming.

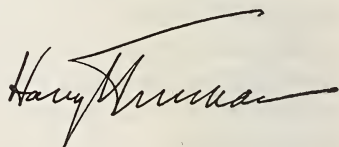
We are endeavoring in the United Nations as in our other international actions to make clear to the Soviet Union that we seek to carry out the Charter in deed as in word, and that we ask no more or less from any other member. It will be our plan in the future, as it has been our practice in the past, to do all in our power to strengthen the United Nations as the primary instrument for the maintenance of peace. By our efforts to strengthen it and by our related assistance to other nations under legislation enacted by the Congress, we shall seek to make our utmost contribution to attaining the situation of fact in which agreement can become realistically possible.

The United Nations seeks agreement and the execution in good faith of agreed undertakings. This is the true basis of a world community founded on law and justice. We, for our part, will continue to negotiate and to examine every proposal in our unending effort to achieve security through effective and dependable agreement.

It is a source of encouragement that the United Nations in conducting its work is distinguishing between realities and illusions and is vigilantly insisting, problem by problem, upon solid gains through actual performance. It is striving for real peace, genuine freedom, and actual progress. This fact stands out in its record.

The walkouts of the Soviet Union over Chinese Nationalist representation in the United Nations occurred since the events of 1949 described in this report. In the presence of this willful flouting by the Soviet Government of obligations assumed by it under the Charter, the United Nations has taken the common sense attitude of proceeding with its business as usual.

THE WHITE HOUSE
May 22, 1950

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Harry Truman", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

The Secretary of State to the President

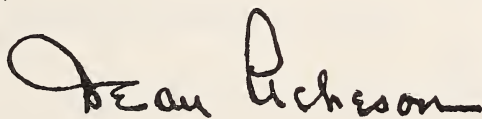
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D. C.
March 14, 1950

THE PRESIDENT:

The accompanying report concerning the activities of the United Nations and our participation therein during the calendar year 1949 is submitted for your consideration and, with your approval, for transmission to the Congress under the provisions of Section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264 of the 79th Congress). The report presents the notable record of constructive work being accomplished by the United Nations and related specialized agencies and describes the efforts of the United Nations to cope with the formidable difficulties prevailing in the world scene.

I am confident that all American citizens and all parts of the Government will find this report of deep interest. I recommend it to your approval.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Dean Acheson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Dean" written in a large, stylized loop.

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Review
of the Fourth Year
of the United Nations

The Year 1949

BY 1949 the initial adjustments following the close of the hostilities of World War II had largely been made. Few of the international problems that had arisen in the immediate postwar years, however, had been fully solved. Some were in one or another stage of solution, but those of most far-reaching influence were still in deadlock. An accumulation of problems deadlocked or still in the step-by-step process of settlement characterized this year even more than the preceding period. Pending problems rather than new ones were the subjects of concern. The question of China was the only new political problem to come before the forums of the United Nations during 1949.

At the outset of the year, a threat to peace existed over Berlin. With the help of the United Nations the threat subsided in the spring. Although international confidence remained lacking, since no fundamental changes in East-West relations had occurred, the easing of the international tension gave hope that some change might be brought about to improve the world situation. But when efforts were made in the opening days of the General Assembly session in the autumn to remove the long-standing threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece, a settlement of even this single problem was again thwarted by the Soviet Union. The session witnessed from the Soviet bloc the same vituperative propaganda and the same irresponsibility with which the United Nations had become familiar in preceding years.

The year ended with a deepening of the tension which has marked international relations throughout the postwar period. It deepened for many reasons: The Soviet Union continued to withhold genuine cooperation toward reaching agreements on questions long in controversy. It continued to obstruct peace settlements for Austria and Germany and refused to agree on acceptable procedures for a peace settlement for Japan. It isolated itself from the rest of the world more and more and, late in the year, displayed the first signs of obstruction over the problem of China. Above all, the tension deepened because the Soviet Union failed to alter in any way, despite possession of the atomic weapon, its rejection of the plan supported by 49 nations for a truly effective control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It insisted instead upon a plan which none of these many nations believed would give effective security. There was also the disturbing fact that, after having proposed in 1948 the reduction by a third of the conventional armaments and armed forces of the permanent mem-

bers of the Security Council, the Soviet Union vetoed in 1949 the taking of a census of the actual amounts of conventional armaments and numbers of armed forces possessed by member states and the verification, by an international control organ, of the facts each nation reported.

Performance as the Test

The developments in the United Nations on the problems of international security during 1949 were of outstanding significance. Aside from substantial gains in peaceful settlement of disputes and in other fields of work as summarized below, which are integral parts of the security problem as a whole or are closely related to it, the most important gains were the clarifications reached on fundamental matters now at issue in world affairs. To all the nations represented in its membership other than Communist states, the developments repeatedly demonstrated that the great issues which have blocked world security in the postwar period are between the Soviet Union and the entire free world, not between two major powers alone. Furthermore, it became clear that the agreements being sought on these major difficulties are first steps, not final gains—that the settlement of any difficulty depends upon the actual performance of whatever agreement may be reached. Without dependable execution of the obligations and undertakings agreed upon, there would be no advance, only illusion and, on the most vital matters, even new dangers.

No less significant was the widening appreciation among the great majority of the members that, in view of the attitude of the Soviet Union as evidenced by its propaganda and its action in regard to the rest of the world, only an increase of the moral, economic, and military strength of the free world and steadfastness and unity of purpose among the free nations could lead to dependable agreements and to the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of the Charter. Only strength would lead to this basic objective. And strength was more evident than formerly. The growing effects of the cooperative programs between the United States and other members—economic gains flowing from the European Recovery Program since 1948, political strength and military capacity promoted by the North Atlantic Treaty and the Military Assistance Act of 1949, and positive steps toward economic development and the strengthening of other parts of the world—all were favorably reflected in the increased firmness of the work of the United Nations during the year.

In the forums of the United Nations during 1949 the great majority of the members gave repeated evidence of their common conviction that international peace to be assured must be universal, and of their

intention to persevere in their efforts to arrive at a more solid structure of world relationships than exists today. This was particularly apparent in the notable resolution of the General Assembly on "Essentials of Peace"¹ endorsed unanimously by all 53 nations other than the Communist states. This resolution was not only a realistic declaration on the world's greatest problem but also a call to every member to cooperate to solve this problem. It laid the responsibility for world-wide tension directly at the door of those who had been disregarding the principles necessary for assurance of peace. It set forth the courses of action which postwar experience had demonstrated to be prerequisite for peace and repeated the basic standards of conduct which are the tests of the actual intentions and desires of nations in their relations with each other.

The United Nations faced the causes of world tension in 1949 with frankness and thoroughness. Comparable candor has but rarely been manifested in the long history of mankind's efforts to grapple with the problem of establishing peace securely. This realism did not lead to extremes of either pessimism or optimistic hope. Instead it led to measured judgments on the causes of the tension and to clearer realization of the actions required to achieve at least satisfactory working relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. Though there was unremitting search for formulas on which agreement of views might be reached on the several questions at issue, there was, above all, recognition that good faith toward the principles of peace as shown in conduct rather than just in words is the only reliable foundation of genuine confidence and peaceful progress. Thus, the United Nations, in its efforts to deal with these questions as practically and as rapidly as the ever-present process of change in human affairs permits, seeks to avoid deceptions of any kind and at the same time to explore every possibility for the attainment of the objectives of the Charter.

In the presence of the deep division that has marked world relations generally in 1949, the gratifying fact sometimes has been obscured that international cooperation is progressively developing among most of the world's peoples and governments. This has been visible in most of the fields of United Nations activities and is the solid floor for the building of the better world order which mankind is seeking. There are current controversies and disputes among this vast number of friendly nations, to be sure, but they are among nations widely agreed on fundamentals, nations which are usually able to work together on other matters. This growing cooperation among most of the members made possible the effective work accomplished by the United Nations during the year.

¹ U.N. doc. A1167, Resolution 290 IV.

Summary of Action and Effort

Political and security problems continue to be questions of first importance. The formation of new states since World War II has, in several cases, involved hostilities or the threat of hostilities. There were four main instances of this nature: Indonesia, Palestine, the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, and Korea. In all of these areas the action taken by the United Nations to prevent or stop the hostilities took place not only on the diplomatic level but also in the field on the spot. The United States was represented in most of the field missions of the United Nations during 1949 and as a member took energetic steps to prevent or stop the hostilities and to contribute to constructive peaceful settlements.

In regard to Indonesia, it appeared at the beginning of the year that prolonged fighting would occur before a solution could be reached between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Government. However, through the statesmanship of the two parties, consummated finally in the Round-Table Conference at The Hague, and the constructive assistance of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, the dispute was terminated and by the end of the year the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was established as an independent nation within a voluntary union with the Netherlands. The United States and many other countries promptly recognized the new state. The peaceful settlement achieved in this grave case testified to the effectiveness of the processes of peaceful settlement provided under the Charter of the United Nations. The United Nations Commission remains in the field to assist the parties on questions arising during the period of transition after the establishment of the new republic.

In Palestine, armistice agreements were successfully concluded by midyear between Israel and all the Arab States, thus terminating an extensive period of armed strife in the Holy Land. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine was not able to achieve a full settlement of the questions at issue. Great effort, however, was devoted to the care of the approximately 750,000 Arab refugees from Israel. Repatriation of these refugees in Israel on any large scale proved impossible, but the United Nations successfully carried out a great humanitarian program of relief. Near the close of the year, acting upon the recommendations of an economic survey mission working under the leadership of the American representative on the group, the United Nations instituted a United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. A combined program of relief and public works is being inaugurated to provide useful and productive employment for all refugees able and willing

to work on practical projects in the Arab States to improve and reclaim land, to increase the supply and use of water, and to strengthen road systems and improve sanitation and shelter, since it is only through such economic and social development of the Near East that the refugee problem can be satisfactorily resolved.

In addition, the question of the future permanent regime to be established for Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places was the subject of wide concern. The decision of the General Assembly favored establishment of the City of Jerusalem as a separate entity administered by the United Nations under the Trusteeship Council. This solution was regarded by some members, however, as unrealistic and incapable of implementation in view of the opposition to it by Israel and Jordan and of the changes which had occurred since 1947 when this solution had first been recommended. Although sharing this view the United States undertook to cooperate loyally in the preparation by the Trusteeship Council of a statute for the administration of the City of Jerusalem pursuant to the General Assembly's decision.

Settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir was not attained by the close of the year. The parties, with the assistance of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, placed in effect a cease-fire order at the beginning of the year, and this has been honored. In addition, both parties had agreed on the principles to govern a truce and a plebiscite in which the inhabitants of Kashmir would decide whether to accede to India or Pakistan. However, it did not prove possible to reach terms acceptable to both parties for the necessary detailed agreements either on the truce or on the plebiscite. In an effort at the close of the year to hasten agreement through new proposals, the Security Council began through the personal services of its president at the time (General Andrew G. L. McNaughton of Canada) to hold consultations with both parties looking toward as early a settlement as possible.

No essential change occurred in regard to Korea, and this new state has remained divided with little real prospect of unification in the foreseeable future. The Government established under the observation of the United Nations in the part of the country south of the 38° parallel, which was formerly under United States occupation, is the lawful Government in Korea and has been widely recognized by other states. The United Nations Commission on Korea has continued its work on the spot, seeking the removal of barriers between the northern and southern parts, the prevention of major outbreaks of violence along the border and internal subversion from external sources, and the unification of the state in accord with the principles laid down by the United Nations General Assembly. This Commission is em-

powered to make available its good offices whenever opportunity arises to bring about unification, to verify the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from the northern part whenever such withdrawal can be determined as a fact, and, by functions given to it in 1949, to observe and report any developments that might lead to military conflict in Korea.

The United Nations was confronted this year with two main cases involving the maintenance of the political independence and territorial integrity of states. The older case was that of Greece, long the victim of aggressive Soviet ambitions. The dispute in this instance illustrated the fact that United Nations action in the political field encounters its greatest difficulties in matters where the interests of Communist-dominated states clash directly with those of free nations acting in defense of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Nevertheless, the United Nations, through its Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) and United Nations observers with the Committee, has reported the facts concerning the assistance given by the Communist countries neighboring upon Greece to the guerrillas fighting inside Greece, and has thus contributed to the successful conclusion in 1949 of Greek military operations against the guerrillas.

There has been no complete elimination of the threat to Greece. The Special Committee has been directed to continue its work, and the United Nations has called upon Albania and Bulgaria and upon other states concerned to cease any assistance to Greek guerrillas and to cooperate with Greece and the Special Committee for the settlement of their differences peaceably. A recommendation was also made that no arms or war materials be furnished to Albania and Bulgaria until their unlawful aid to the Greek guerrillas has ceased. At the same time the United Nations has pressed urgently for return to their country of the Greek children forcibly removed to the Communist states north of Greece and has urged these countries to cooperate with the International Red Cross to this end.

The problem of Greece, like that of Korea and other political problems involving the preservation of the peace, shows that wherever United Nations action has not been completely successful, these problems remain as unfinished business in the affairs of all nations faithful to the Charter. The stakes in United Nations activities and the vital interests of these nations in peace are not separable. The problems of peace in the day-by-day preoccupations of the United States demonstrate that our national aims and the aims of the United Nations are fundamentally bound together, and the same broad ties of policy and action exist between other nations of the free world and the work of the United Nations on questions of peace.

The problem of China came before the General Assembly in the form of a complaint by China submitted under the heading: "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to the peace of the Far East resulting from Soviet violations of the Charter of the United Nations." Two resolutions were adopted. The principal resolution called upon all states to respect the political independence of China and the right of its people to choose freely their political institutions and to maintain a government independent of foreign control; to respect existing treaties relating to China; and not to seek spheres of influence, to create foreign controlled regimes within Chinese territory, or to obtain special rights or privileges in China. The second placed the Chinese complaint under continuous examination and study by the Interim Committee (the Little Assembly) under charge to report to the next session of the Assembly and empowered the Committee to bring the case to the attention of the Secretary-General for consideration by the Security Council if necessary. In this action, the Assembly placed under observation not only the Chinese complaint but also any future violations of the main resolution.

The infringement of human rights in Hungary shown in the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, the repressions against Protestant churchmen in Bulgaria, and the systematic violations of essential human rights in Rumania caused the Assembly deep concern. The rights at stake are elementary civil and political rights generally respected and unquestioned except under totalitarian regimes. The actions of these three former enemy countries were directly in violation of the provisions of the peace treaties they had signed after World War II. Various efforts had been made by the United States and the United Kingdom to reach an improvement of the situation in direct negotiations with the three Balkan countries, while on the other hand the three were supported in their stand by the Soviet Government. The hearing of this matter in the Assembly illuminated the profound differences of viewpoint concerning human life and the rights of human beings as between Communist regimes and the governments of free nations. It also revealed the complicated difficulties of obtaining performance of an obligation by these states unless their material self-interest coincides or the world situation is sufficiently strong to compel it. The Assembly has requested the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on whether the existing disputes are subject to the procedures provided in the peace treaties, and whether the three governments are obligated to carry out these procedures and to appoint representatives to the commissions contemplated in the treaties for the purpose of obtaining performance of

the treaty provisions. Certain additional questions have also been put to the Court concerning the treaty commission and its powers in the event that the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative.

On the disposition of the former Italian colonies, a problem which is also an aftermath of the war, the General Assembly of the United Nations exercised, in effect, a legislative power of decision. This power was conferred on it by the Council of Foreign Ministers pursuant to a provision of the treaty of peace with Italy relating to the three former Italian colonies in Africa—a vast advance over historical practices of division of territorial spoils of war among victors. The disposition of these colonies involved complicated questions of security, territorial claims, political prestige, and the capabilities of the inhabitants and their rights and duties under independence. The consideration of the matter by the Assembly, in its session in the spring as well as during most of its fall session, involved extensive debate—the first stage of the process, whether in national or in international action, of reaching agreement based on common judgment. During this debate several members, including the United States, altered their original positions in the light of the views expressed by others and in the hope of reaching an agreement which a majority would endorse.

It was agreed that Libya should be made an independent state not later than January 1, 1952. Related arrangements provide for a United Nations Commissioner assisted by an advisory council of representatives of six states, including the United States, to help in formulating a constitution and establishing the new independent government; for the formulation of the constitution by a National Assembly of representatives of the three parts of the area; for transfer of power from the present administering powers, Great Britain and France, to the new government as necessary institutions are established; and for promotion of the unity of Libya and its admission to the United Nations when the new state is established. Italian Somaliland is to become independent after a period of 10 years of trusteeship during which it is to be administered by Italy assisted by an advisory council of the representatives of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. The necessary trusteeship agreement is being negotiated with Italy by the Trusteeship Council and will provide for the development of self-government. The disposition of Eritrea presented problems beyond those encountered in the other two instances, and solution was postponed to permit additional study by a United Nations commission in the field. The General Assembly was thus able in a year to resolve the larger part of the question of these colonies, a question on which the Council of Foreign Ministers had been dead-

locked over a longer period. While problems remain to be worked out, the framework for action has been firmly laid.

Strengthening of the United Nations as the world's general political and security organization has continued to be actively pressed. A United Nations Field Service under the Secretary-General has been provided for more adequate protection and efficient administration for the commissions, special committees, and missions of individuals performing functions of peaceful settlement in troubled areas. This need was indicated by the fact that, by the end of 1949, a total of 368 persons were serving as members, observers, and staff on United Nations field missions. By a United Nations Panel of Field Observers also instituted this year, qualified individuals from all nations will be listed with a view to obtaining their services promptly when required to assist in the field to promote peaceful solutions of international disputes. These are entirely apart from the armed forces to be provided to the Security Council under the Charter for use in enforcement actions, in regard to which no new steps of consequence can be reported this year.

Further effort was once more made to admit to membership in the United Nations the considerable number of states desiring to undertake the obligations of the Charter as members and in the view of the General Assembly qualified to do so. With the sole exception of Israel, their admission once again proved impossible. The Assembly took steps to provide, however, that all pending applications should continue to be considered by the Security Council and has asked the Court for an opinion whether admission to membership can be effected by the Assembly in the absence of a favorable recommendation from the Council. Mounting regret has been expressed in the Assembly over the repeated denial of participation to *bona fide* applicant states against the will of the overwhelming majority of the members.

A new attempt was made to render the Security Council more effective through due restraint in the use of veto power. The Soviet Union in 1949 cast 14 vetoes; no veto was cast by any other permanent member in the year. Consideration of the veto problem was based this year on an extensive study prepared by the Interim Committee. One progressive step was announced on October 28: the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., France, and China—agreed to hold consultations before important decisions are to be made by the Security Council. While this will not of itself remedy the extreme difficulty which the Soviet attitude has created, it is hoped that by such consultation the Council may avoid some of the frustration to which it has been subjected in the past and may gradually find a common point of view on its great responsibilities.

The two remaining steps toward strengthening the organization related primarily to the Assembly. The Interim Committee was continued with an indefinite term and was given important duties in connection with remaining work involved in the disposition of the former Italian colonies and in regard to the China case, in addition to its continuing availability for advice regarding Greece and Korea. Furthermore, the Interim Committee is to continue to study methods and procedures for promoting greater international cooperation in the political field. The other step to be noted is that the Assembly has adopted a considerable number of improvements of its rules and practices in the interest of greater efficiency.

The General Assembly session in the autumn of 1949 was more than usually businesslike. This in a measure reflected growth of experience, but due acknowledgment must also be made to the services of its president, Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines. Again this year the Assembly was outstanding as the great conference of the nations. It is noteworthy that its activities increasingly reveal that genuine effort is being made by most members to form their policy positions with due regard to the general opinion of the members at large and to arrive thereby at a judgment reflecting the world public interest and opinion. This is clear not only in the debates but also in the numerous consultations held before and during debate and in the use of working groups to build from divergent proposals a single recommendation on which the majority can agree.

The Assembly has come to play a more active role in international political questions than was contemplated at the time of the founding of the United Nations. This has posed the problem of expediting the work of its sessions. In 1949 the Assembly held a total of 89 plenary meetings, with 513 meetings of its principal committees aside from numerous meetings of their subcommittees and working groups. The Security Council was not as active as in preceding years, holding only 62 meetings in contrast to 168 during the year before. These meetings together with the numerous meetings of other organs and subsidiary bodies suggest the growing utilization of international organizations by the member states. The same significance is indicated by the great number of international conferences occurring annually in the postwar world; the wide range of interests of the United States led during 1949 to participation by this country in some 300 conferences in addition to meetings of the organs of the United Nations. In a world so deeply divided as the postwar world, this intensive activity testifies to the great compulsion on nations to cooperate in a developing world community—a force which may eventually be felt by the small minority of nations pursuing courses in conflict with the public interest of that community.

Economic developments and technical assistance were the activities most emphasized in the economic work pressed during the year. Development is being forwarded especially through provision to underdeveloped countries of technical assistance and through help to these countries in financing the necessary capital improvements. Specific forms of assistance are being given by the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Bank, and other specialized agencies as well as by the United Nations itself. The efforts being made for improvement of economic conditions, in addition to those for development and technical assistance, are so numerous that they can be no more than indicated here. This is equally true of the activities for social progress and welfare. Some of the efforts in these great fields are of broad character, but most of the work is specialized with a view to obtaining concrete results.

By their work on economic and social matters and the promotion of human rights, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the specialized agencies strive to promote the international economic and social conditions essential for world peace. The United Nations proper and all the specialized agencies, of which ten are established and the remaining three are still in the formative stages, compose the United Nations system as an entirety. The work of the United Nations organs and the specialized agencies is increasingly being coordinated into a far-reaching and growing program for improving the standard of living in all parts of the world.

Obviously much of this program is long-run. It was evident in 1949, however, that immediate gains are already possible in some areas of activity. For example, loans of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are assisting the development of power facilities in Mexico, the widening use of agricultural machinery in Colombia, and the increase of railroad equipment in India. Intensive effort is being made by the Monetary Fund toward the establishment of suitable and orderly exchange rates and the removal of restrictive and discriminatory foreign-exchange practices. Similarly, efforts are under way to deal with food surpluses and to solve the complex problem of assuring fair prices to permit such surpluses to move from producing areas to areas where they are needed. The program of the Food and Agriculture Organization is thus of heightening interest in all parts of the world.

In another field, cooperative action is under way to eliminate obstacles to transportation and communications—services essential in ever-growing degree in this age of interdependence. Several of the specialized agencies, especially those dealing with civil aviation, telecommunications, postal communications, and meteorological services, in addition to commissions of the Economic and Social Council itself, are engaged in this cooperation. The work covers a wide variety of

steps to improve world transport and communications facilities, to promote air safety, to simplify road travel, to exchange weather data for more accurate forecasting, and to allocate the limited supply of radio frequencies.

Questions of labor are also the subject of growing attention, not only in the International Labor Organization, but in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Refugee Organization. The list of subjects considered during 1949 included the special problems of migrant labor, of freedom of association, and of forced labor which exists in some countries. Still other cooperative steps are being taken in the fields of shipping and trade.

All these activities touch directly the livelihood, the conditions of life, and the relationships of people engaged in practically every field of enterprise, on farms, in factories, on the roads and railroads and docks, in all forms of commerce, in all services of communication.

Notable progress is being made in improving public health. In an epoch of much travel and rapid transportation, danger of spread of disease naturally has increased, and the World Health Organization has greatly expanded the former range of international health efforts to deal with this matter. Priority rating has also been given to the control of malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, to maternal and child health, to environmental sanitation, and to nutrition. The help given by the World Health Organization to the national authorities in Egypt during 1948 in suppressing the cholera epidemic and in Afghanistan during 1949 in controlling the serious outbreak of typhus—when action was taken within 36 hours—were but the most spectacular examples of the growing effectiveness of this organization in aiding national services to cope with health problems. Such work may be described as action to relieve human suffering, though it is not confined to, or rightly regarded as supported only on, humanitarian grounds, since it has great economic, social, and even political effects.

Energetically striving each in its own area of activity, the International Children's Emergency Fund, the International Refugee Organization, the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, and the World Health Organization have cared in 1949 for hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in need of assistance and relief. Six hundred and ninety thousand refugees had been resettled by December 31, 1949. The settlement of refugees from European countries has progressed sufficiently to make possible the termination of the International Refugee Organization by March 31, 1951. The International Children's Emergency Fund, in a joint effort with the World Health Organization and the Danish and other Scandinavian Red Cross Societies, tested 17,500,000 children and young adults and vaccinated 8,000,000 against tuberculosis during the year. The Fund

operated in 13 European countries, 14 Far Eastern countries and territories, 6 Middle Eastern, and 11 Latin American countries. Since the Fund has almost completed the emergency relief tasks for which it was established, the Economic and Social Council has given high priority to the question of how to meet continuing needs of children over the long term.

The social welfare advisory services conducted by the United Nations are increasing in demand. Consultants were active in nine countries during 1949. Thirty-eight persons holding fellowships for training in such services came to the United States during the year for their training. Social welfare seminars were held under United Nations auspices at Beirut for Middle East countries and at Paris for European countries in the course of the past 12 months. A convention for suppression of traffic in women and children was approved by the General Assembly. In this matter, unfortunately, owing to the lack of a clause providing for the Federal-State relationships necessary for United States approval, the United States has had to declare that it cannot become a signatory to the convention as drafted, though cooperation will be given under our existing legislation.

In the cultural field, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization continues, by a wide variety of projects, to build defenses of peace by encouraging people to exchange ideas with their neighbors in other countries. It devoted much effort to educational surveys and recommendations in countries requesting help, especially for the elimination of illiteracy. The services of volunteer private organizations are being increasingly enlisted, and international organizations of political scientists, sociologists, and economists have been encouraged.

An international covenant on human rights, setting forth civil and political rights well known in the tradition and law of most of the world's nations, has been drafted but is still under consideration. Preparation of a convention on the international transmission of news and the right of correction has been completed. Freedom of information has received further attention this year, but it is not certain that the projected separate convention on this matter will be advisable, considering the limitations on this freedom which some states have sought to legalize in such a convention. On the other hand, the convention to condemn the crime of genocide and to seek its prevention received 5 ratifications by the end of 1949; the 15 more necessary to make this convention effective seem assured in due course. The status of women, particularly as respects equality with men in the right to vote, to hold office, and to enjoy educational opportunities, has received further favorable attention. This year economic rights have come to occupy a more prominent position among the rights being sought.

These are but a few examples of the ways in which international organizations are being utilized by states in pursuit of economic and social progress. There is wide participation by nations in this respect, apart from the Soviet Union and the satellite Communist states which have not taken part in most of the specialized agencies. Since the work is basic and for the most part deals with ordinary affairs, the economic and social gains being achieved by the United Nations system have not received the attention they merit. The work is conducted on a day-to-day basis and normally without the headline attention accorded matters of political controversy.

In the economic field there is particular significance in the wide interest manifested by other nations in the condition of the economy of the United States. The relationship between the maintenance of employment and prosperity in the United States and the sustained capacity of other nations in attaining improved conditions is recognized as of fundamental importance. This is not only a reflection of the unparalleled position of the United States in world economic affairs. It is also a reflection of the fact that the world is more interdependent than at any previous time in history. Nations with economies geared to a few commodities and services are dependent upon the general world market and the economic situation as a whole; so also in great measure are nations having great productive capacity in most forms of enterprise. Full employment was stressed in the General Assembly in the autumn as a matter of basic importance for the achievement of a stable and expanding world economy, and members were asked urgently to consider the promotion of full employment through such measures as are appropriate to their institutions.

The political, economic, and social advancement of the approximately 10 percent of the world's peoples not fully self-governing was the subject of detailed consideration by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly this year, and by the states responsible for the administration of many dependent territories. The active interest with which the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly seek to foster and stimulate the advancement of all non-self-governing peoples was manifested by studies and recommendations more numerous than in any previous year.

In regard to trusteeship, it is particularly gratifying to observe the commendation of the Trusteeship Council for the progress made in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which is under United States administration. The observations made on this territory were primarily concerned with the development of local and regional organs of self-government, approval of the United States policy of seeking no profit or aggrandizement from the territory, development of the fishing industry and various forms of agriculture and mining, and the establishment of facilities for secondary education and arrangements

for higher education. Nine other trust territories are administered by Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Trusteeship Council's annual visiting mission this year was to the four trust territories in West Africa, and arrangements were made for a visiting mission to be sent in the spring of 1950 to visit the four trust territories in the Pacific area. Among matters prominent in the work of the Trusteeship Council during the year were the questions concerning the utilization of administrative unions and the flying of the United Nations flag over trust territories. The first of these raised the dilemma of maintaining on one hand the political identity of the trust territories and the effective functioning of trusteeship, and on the other the means of obtaining desirable advantages for the trust territories as a result of association with other areas in larger economic units. The matter has been put under close study. On the second, the General Assembly asked the Trusteeship Council to recommend to administering authorities that the United Nations flag be flown henceforth over all trust territories and that, in order to represent the full range of cooperation and responsibility affecting each territory, the flag of the administering authority and any territorial flag that may exist also be flown.

The only former mandate not now an independent state or a territory under United Nations trusteeship is South West Africa. The problem of its future status under trusteeship or another disposition has been before the United Nations since 1946. The principal step taken by the General Assembly on this perplexing question in 1949 was to request the International Court of Justice to render an advisory opinion regarding the international status of this territory and the resulting international obligations of the Union of South Africa.

In regard to non-self-governing territories other than trust territories, attention for the first time centered on functional matters rather than as heretofore on the procedural questions involved in the transmission of information to the United Nations. Several of the 10 resolutions adopted were concerned with educational advancement in these territories; by another the special committee dealing with information received from administering powers was constituted for a 3-year term and not on an annual basis as heretofore; and one resolution dealt with the question of determining the non-self-governing territories on which information must be transmitted to the United Nations under article 73 (e) of the Charter. Various differences of approach, and fundamentally of interpretation regarding United Nations powers and responsibilities in this field of work under the Charter, appeared among members in the course of the work during 1949. At the same time, however, the reports considered and the thorough debates held in this traditionally controversial field indicated that forward-looking

steps of economic and social advancement and political growth are proceeding in nearly all these territories at a more accelerated pace than ever in the past.

More frequent resort to the International Court of Justice than previously can be noted during 1949. Increased attention also was given to the development of international law in respects other than decisions of the Court. The Court rendered its decision in the Corfu Channel Case in favor of the Government of the United Kingdom. The main opinion on the question of reparation for injuries to personnel of the United Nations during performance of official duties within the territorial jurisdiction of states was that the United Nations had the capacity to bring a claim based upon breach of obligations due to itself. The International Law Commission established by the General Assembly has worked particularly on the rights and duties of states and has concentrated its work of codification mostly on the law of treaties, arbitral procedures, and regime of the high seas, in which is included the regime of territorial waters.

The United Nations assessment budget for the calendar year 1950 is \$42,170,000. The assessment of the United States for its share of this budget has been reduced slightly, from 39.89 percent to 39.79. This is a first step toward implementing the principle that no member should contribute more than one-third of the total required to meet the expenses of the organization. Leaving aside the special amount required for the care and resettlement of refugees by the International Refugee Organization, which is a temporary agency soon to be terminated, and the Bank and the Fund, which operate on the proceeds from loans, the total expenditure budgets for the calendar year 1950 of the United Nations and all the permanent specialized agencies amount together to only approximately \$81,000,000, which miscellaneous income including the revenue from staff assessments reduces to approximately \$72,500,000. This is nearly 40 percent less than the budget for the administration of the District of Columbia.

The cornerstone of the United Nations Headquarters in New York City was laid in a United Nations Day ceremony held October 24, 1949. Construction has proceeded satisfactorily. The first of several units being built is the Secretariat Building, which is to be ready for use late in 1950. One-third of the interest-free loan of \$65,000,000 made by the United States Government to the United Nations has already been advanced. It is expected that within 2 years the United Nations can conduct its work in permanent quarters.

Strengthening of United States Participation

By amendments passed in 1949 to the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, the Congress strengthened United States participation in the United Nations in two particular respects. The United States Representative, Ambassador Warren R. Austin, may now take part on any body of the United Nations other than the specialized agencies, as also may the new ranking Deputy Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Ernest A. Gross. John C. Ross, Deputy Representative, may represent this country specifically in the Security Council, thus making three persons authorized to sit for the United States in that Council. These measures give wider flexibility of representation and definite assurance of our participation at all times. The new amendments also permit any officer of the Department of State whose appointment was originally subject to Senate confirmation to represent the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations on any special matter which may arise.

The conduct of the work of the Department of State relative to our participation in the United Nations was placed during 1949, for the first time, under the full-time charge of an Assistant Secretary of State, and also a Deputy Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs has been appointed, with a view to assuring effective participation in the United Nations system.

These steps reflect both the reliance of this Government upon the work of the United Nations system and our wholehearted participation and energetic leadership in international cooperation. The unity of the American people in endorsing this course has long been demonstrated by the nonpartisan cooperation prevailing between the Executive branch and the Congress in the conduct of our participation in the United Nations system, and this cooperation continued throughout the year. The Executive branch enjoyed the benefit of consultation with the Congress and its strong support both in matters of policy and in the essential appropriations for our participation. Members of Congress in increasing numbers have come directly into contact with the work of our national representatives and delegates in visits to the United States Mission to the United Nations and to various sessions of organizations and bodies of the United Nations during 1949. A large number of American citizens in private life likewise came into touch directly with these organizations. It is gratifying that millions

of American citizens are expressing their intelligent interest in the success of these international endeavors by study and debate of the problems coming before the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The international activities described in this report have increasingly become an integral part of daily American life.

The Report for 1949

The text of the report which follows is devoted entirely to the work of the United Nations system. The appendixes contain brief indications of the organizational developments of the principal organs of the United Nations proper, their subsidiary bodies, and the related specialized agencies. The organizations as such are international instrumentalities for the conduct of work. The work itself is the main interest, and it and its results are the chief considerations in this report.

The Work
of the United Nations
and the Participation
of the United States

PART I

Political and Security

A. Determination to Support Principles of Peace and Freedom

THE STRONG and constructive response made by all fifty-three nations members of the United Nations representing the free world against the major propaganda effort of the Soviet Union in the General Assembly this autumn offered a striking demonstration of the peaceful convictions and desires of the great majority of the world's states. The Assembly adopted a resolution submitted by the United States and the United Kingdom setting forth the basic standards of international conduct by which nations should be guided in their policies and actions. In its notable debate on essentials of peace the Assembly made a determined effort to get to the root of the causes of world difficulties in attaining security and to mark out the road to genuine peace.

The proposal submitted by the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Vyshinsky, asked the Assembly to condemn "the preparations for a new war now being conducted in a number of countries and particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom"; to censure any delay in establishing the unconditional prohibition and the establishment of international control of atomic weapons; and to request the five great powers to "conclude among themselves a pact for the strengthening of peace."

In announcing this proposal with dramatic suddenness after the deadline for submitting agenda items had passed, Mr. Vyshinsky repeated the now familiar themes of current Soviet propaganda. He charged the United States, the United Kingdom, and others with engaging in an unbridled armaments race and in a campaign of wild propaganda deliberately to build up a "war hysteria" to justify an attack on the Soviet Union. The "American instigators and strategists of the cold war" have, he charged, placed themselves at the head of an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet crusade, and he asserted that their activities make impossible any genuine international cooperation. The Soviet proposal listed for specific condemnation the "war propaganda encouraged by governments, in the armaments race and the inflation of military budgets inflicting heavy burdens on the people,

the establishment of numerous military, naval and air bases on the territories of other countries, the organization of military blocs of States pursuing aggressive aims directed against peace-loving democratic countries, and the implementation of other measures having aggressive purposes." The North Atlantic Treaty was singled out by the Soviet delegate for particular attack. Its "aggressive character" was shown, according to Mr. Vyshinsky, by the fact that non-Atlantic countries bordering on the Soviet Union were associated with the treaty whereas the U.S.S.R. was excluded and also by the treaty's not being directed at renewal of German aggression in contrast to certain Soviet pacts.

Although in essence this Soviet propaganda move paralleled similar Soviet efforts in previous Assemblies, two new themes were introduced. The first was the charge that the "war mongering" efforts were being carried on by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, rather than as formerly by "certain circles" and individuals in those countries. The second was the proposal that, after condemning these two countries, the General Assembly should call upon them and China and France to enter into a pact with the Soviet Union to strengthen peace. The pact was eventually described as one for nonaggression and disarmament. However, it was evident to all observers that this new move was not only a collection of the main Soviet propaganda themes that had appeared in the past 4 years but was also a culmination of previous efforts to give currency to the myth that the Soviet Union is the champion of peace.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Warren R. Austin expressed the feeling of the great majority of members in his opening statement that the Charter of the United Nations is "the most solemn pact of peace in history" and contains the basic principles essential to peace; that the causes of the present international tension are to be found primarily in the disregard of those principles by the Soviet Union and the minority of states which follow its lead; and that the remedy lies not in a new pact but in the performance by the Soviet Union of the obligations which it as well as all other members of the United Nations have already undertaken.

Citing from the record of "the long, unhappy list of broken Soviet pledges that has grown since we have been engaged in the common effort to create the United Nations," Ambassador Austin concluded that this sobering experience has undermined the confidence of the world in the pledges of the Soviet Union. The free nations confronted "aggressively reactionary Soviet policies" both inside and outside of the United Nations. Therefore, the rest of the world had been forced to promote collective security by arrangements bulwarking the United Nations and made directly between its members.

The Inter-American Treaty of 1947, the North Atlantic Treaty made effective August 24, 1949, and the Mutual Defense Assistance Act passed by the Congress in September—all violently attacked by the Soviet Union—are part of this common effort to assure security. All these were formed to fit within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, and, since they seek firmly to advance the objectives of the United Nations, they are a reassurance to all peace-loving nations. Their purpose is peace. These facts were repeatedly made clear by the many speakers replying to the Soviet allegation. Ambassador Austin stated with emphasis that “None of these safeguards . . . will ever be used unless there is a clear violation of peace which the Security Council is unable to prevent,” and that not one of them alters the overriding policy of seeking “to cooperate with all states . . . in the building of a universal system of collective security within the United Nations.” He added, furthermore, that none of these safeguards “alter our hope that the Soviet Union will sometime join with the other members of the United Nations to strengthen collective security.”

After opposing the Soviet proposal as inconsistent with this aim of collective security and as pointing rather toward the domination of world affairs by the major powers, and after recounting the long chain of rebuffs of United States efforts for economic, social, and cultural cooperation with the U.S.S.R., Ambassador Austin emphasized that realistic strengthening of peace lay in a reversal of Soviet policies of obstructionism, in cooperation with the rest of the United Nations to solve the day-to-day problems brought before it, and in action by the Soviet Union to lift its iron curtain. If the Soviet Union is prepared to take such action, Ambassador Austin declared, the proposed new pact is unnecessary; if it is not prepared to do so, “then the pact is a fraud.” The road to peace is in the fulfillment in good faith of obligations already agreed to in acceptance of the United Nations Charter.

In accordance with this approach the United States and the United Kingdom jointly presented a resolution entitled “Essentials of Peace.” This fundamental statement, subsequently approved by the Assembly without change in any way, reads:

The General Assembly

Declares that the Charter of the United Nations, the most solemn pact of peace in history, lays down basic principles necessary for an enduring peace; that disregard of these principles is primarily responsible for the continuance of international tension; and that it is urgently necessary for all Members to act in accordance with these principles in the spirit of co-operation on which the United Nations was founded;

Calls upon every nation

To refrain from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter;

To refrain from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence or integrity of any State, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people in any State;

To carry out in good faith its international agreements;

To afford all United Nations bodies full co-operation and free access in the performance of the tasks assigned to them under the Charter;

To promote, in recognition of the paramount importance of preserving the dignity and worth of the human person, full freedom for the peaceful expression of political opposition, full opportunity for the exercise of religious freedom and full respect for all the other fundamental rights expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

To promote nationally and through international co-operation, efforts to achieve and sustain higher standards of living for all peoples;

To remove the barriers which deny to peoples the free exchange of information and ideas essential to international understanding and peace;

Calls upon every Member to participate fully in all the work of the United Nations;

Calls upon the five permanent members of the Security Council to broaden progressively their cooperation and to exercise restraint in the use of the veto in order to make the Security Council a more effective instrument for maintaining peace;

Calls upon every nation

To settle international disputes by peaceful means and to co-operate in supporting United Nations efforts to resolve outstanding problems;

To cooperate to attain the effective international regulation of conventional armaments; and

To agree to the exercise of national sovereignty jointly with other nations to the extent necessary to attain international control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons and assure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

The debate that ensued after the introduction of this resolution provided the most thorough examination ever made in an international forum of freedom on one hand and Soviet policies and actions on the other in their relationship to the world's greatest problem, peace. With emphasis on one or another of the aspects involved, the representatives of more than 30 of the free nations participating in this debate presented the realistic conclusions at which they had arrived in the light of world experiences to date. These may be summarized as follows:

First, the most serious obstacles to peace are the imperialist, aggressive tendencies of the Soviet Union itself and its use of international Communism as a weapon of its foreign policy.

Second, the isolation of the Soviet Union and its satellites from the rest of the world is of its own making. The self-imposed wall of darkness which isolates the Soviet people from the exchange of ideas and information essential to true understanding with the rest of the world is fundamentally a barrier to real peace.

Third, the repeated acts of aggression by the Soviet Union, its disregard for the rights of small nations, and the Soviet belief that its interests inevitably involve conflict with the free world, have forced other states to take defensive measures in concert to strengthen their collective security.

Fourth, the contrast between Soviet actions and Soviet protestations of peaceful intentions is convincing evidence that its proposal for a five-power pact for the strengthening of peace cannot be regarded as anything but a spurious offer intended to gain propaganda advantages.

Fifth, the road to enduring peace lies chiefly in a change of attitude of the Soviet Union itself. The means for strengthening peace are at its own command. The great need is for faithful adherence to principles and purposes of the United Nations. The door to peaceful cooperation is wide open, and the rest of the world invites the Soviet Union to use that door.

When the various parts of the Soviet proposal were put to vote, its condemnatory provisions and its proposed five-power pact received only the five votes of the Soviet group. On the other hand, the resolution on the Essentials of Peace was approved by each of the 53 members of the United Nations other than the Communist states. It was opposed only by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine. Yugoslavia, though voting in favor of a number of paragraphs, abstained in the final vote on the whole resolution.

Thus the effect of the Soviet effort was to precipitate a debate marked, as Ambassador Austin observed, by "unprecedented candor" concerning the causes of the present international tension. The debate had exposed the policies and actions of the Soviet Union as the primary cause of existing world difficulties and had refuted beyond doubt the propaganda of Soviet championship of peace. The Soviet effort had failed to deceive or confuse the free nations, or to divide them. On the contrary, the non-Communist world found itself united on the basic ideas at issue, and more united in their determination to strengthen the principles of peace and freedom than ever before. The smaller nations strongly asserted that they did not regard the current international tension as basically a struggle between great powers but as one in fact between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

It was expressly recognized by the sponsors and supporters of the resolution on Essentials of Peace that it set up no new standards, established no new principles, and by itself solved no outstanding problems. It was put forward, in the words of Ambassador Austin, "in full recognition that there is no substitute for performance by members of their treaty obligations" and in the conviction that what is required is "faithful adherence, in deed as well as in words, to the 'Essentials of Peace.'" Its contribution was to make clear the realistic requirements of national conduct if genuine peace and genuine progress are to be achieved in fact among all nations, and to express the common convictions held by the great majority of the nations concerning the existing world difficulties. The objective in action was still wider, however, as Ambassador Austin said for the United States in his final statement on November 29, 1949:

Fifty-three nations are united. We hope that fifty-nine nations will become united. We must summon all our patience, all our devotion to principle and to ethics, and all our determination to search unceasingly for the solutions to common problems. We stretch out the hand of cooperation to those few who as yet remain aloof.

B. Action to Prevent or Stop Hostilities and to Reach Peaceful Settlement of Disputes in the Formation of New States

I. INDONESIA

The peaceful settlement of the issues arising in the creation of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was accomplished this year through the statesmanship of the two parties, the Netherlands and Indonesia, and through the assistance contributed by the United Nations. The situation in Indonesia had been one of grave concern to the international community for more than 2 years. As recently as the beginning of 1949, it appeared that a solution might be reached only through long and bitter fighting. The Security Council and its United Nations Commission for Indonesia exercised a determinative influence on both parties toward resolving the dispute on the basis of peaceful agreement. By the close of the year the United Nations welcomed, as a major achievement in the postwar period, the agreement between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia for cessation of hostilities, the establishment of a new and independent Indonesian nation, and the formation of a voluntary Netherlands-Indonesian union. The attainment of these objectives was dramat-

ically symbolized by ceremonies at Amsterdam and Batavia (Djakarta) on December 27, 1949, at which the Netherlands formally transferred sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia Serikat).

The dispute between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia had been brought to the attention of the Security Council by Australia and India in July 1947 following military action taken by the Netherlands forces against the Republic of Indonesia. The Security Council called upon the parties to cease hostilities immediately and established a commission of consular representatives to observe compliance. It also created a Committee of Good Offices in an effort to establish a truce and to obtain an agreement between the parties on terms for a final settlement. Protracted negotiations under the auspices of the Committee of Good Offices resulted in the signing by the parties on January 17, 1948, of the Renville Agreements which embodied a truce plan and enumerated 18 principles designed to provide a basis for final political settlement. These principles set forth basic objectives for the establishment of the United States of Indonesia, the holding of elections, and the formation of a Netherlands-Indonesian Union; they also provided underlying standards for the final framework of political agreement.

Serious disagreement developed between the Netherlands and the Republic over implementation of these principles. The Committee of Good Offices made efforts to break the impasse, and proposals looking toward an over-all political settlement were submitted jointly by the United States and Australia, and also in September 1948 by the United States Representative on the Committee. Negotiations, however, came to a standstill, and despite the efforts of the Committee of Good Offices military action was again instituted by the Netherlands Government on December 18, 1948. On December 19, the United States Representative to the Security Council, which was then meeting in Paris, requested an emergency session of the Council to deal with this critical situation. He expressed the concern of this Government over resumption of hostilities in contravention of Security Council resolutions and without notification of the termination of the truce in the manner specified in the Renville Agreements.

As provisional measures the Security Council on December 24 and 28 called upon both parties to cease hostilities and upon the Netherlands to release the high Indonesian officials it had imprisoned. The Netherlands responded that hostilities in Java would cease by December 31 and, within a few days thereafter, because of special circumstances, in Sumatra. The Indonesian Representative reported that in view of the imprisonment of his Government he could not advise the Council of his Government's response to the resolutions.

Upon reconvening at Lake Success in January 1949, the Council considered a report from the Committee of Good Offices that compliance with the December resolutions had not been satisfactory. Accordingly a resolution jointly offered by the Representatives of China, Cuba, Norway, and the United States was adopted without a single dissenting vote on January 28. It called upon the parties to cease all military operations and guerrilla warfare; called upon the Government of the Netherlands to release immediately and unconditionally political prisoners arrested by them since the military action began and to restore the officials of the Government of the Republic to Jogjakarta; and recommended that the parties with the assistance of the Committee immediately enter negotiations for the establishment of a federal, independent, and sovereign United States of Indonesia at the earliest possible date on the basis of the principles accepted by the parties in the Renville Agreements.

In the same resolution the Committee of Good Offices was continued with the same membership but was renamed the United Nations Commission for Indonesia and was expressly empowered to reach its decisions by a majority vote. It was instructed to assist the parties in carrying out the resolution and to recommend the extent to which areas should be progressively returned to the Republic. The Commission was also requested to recommend to the Security Council the conditions necessary to insure free and democratic elections under observation by the United Nations and to define the nature and functions of the United Nations agency which should remain in Indonesia to assist in implementing any agreement reached between the parties.

On March 1, the Commission reported that the Netherlands had not complied with the first part of this resolution, which had called upon the Netherlands to release Indonesian political leaders and return them to Jogjakarta, and that therefore there had been no negotiations under the second part of the resolution and could be none until the prerequisites of releasing and returning the Indonesian political leaders to their capital had been fulfilled. The Commission also reported that the Netherlands Government had offered as an alternative to call a round-table conference at The Hague to discuss a program for the immediate transfer of sovereignty.

The Council expressed the view that the Commission should assist the parties in reaching agreement on the implementation of the Council's resolution of January 28, in particular the discontinuance of hostilities, release of political prisoners, restoration of Jogjakarta to the Republic's administration, and the conditions for holding a round-table conference at The Hague. The President of the Council cabled the Commission a directive to this effect on March 23 and expressed the Council's view that the proposed conference at The Hague and

the participation of the Commission thereat would be consistent with its earlier resolution.

Because of the apparent deadlock between the parties, Australia and India on March 30 and 31, 1949, placed the Indonesian question on the agenda of the spring session of the General Assembly. The Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia with the assistance of the United Nations Commission reached a preliminary agreement in Batavia on May 7, providing for restoration of the Republic to the residency of Jogjakarta, participation by the Republicans in The Hague Conference, and the direct issuance of cease-fire orders to their forces. In view of this agreement and in the hope that it might lead to further implementation of the Security Council resolutions and a political settlement, the representatives of Australia and India in the General Assembly at once offered a joint resolution proposing postponement of further consideration of the problem until the Assembly's session in the autumn. After a brief debate, during which only the Soviet bloc indicated opposition, the General Assembly on May 11 adopted the joint resolution by a vote of 43 to 6 with 3 abstentions.

As a result of the agreement the Republican Government was returned to the residency of Jogjakarta and the Netherlands withdrew its troops from that area. During the summer the two parties, under the auspices of the United Nations Commission, agreed upon a cease-fire order, a military manual, and the terms for holding the round-table conference at The Hague. At the same time conferences between officials of the Republic and of the Federal Consultative Assembly, representing other local governments in Indonesia, were held in Batavia and Jogjakarta. Substantial agreement existed among all Indonesian representatives regarding the nature of the contemplated Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The Hague Round-Table Conference. Many issues were before the Conference when it opened on August 23. There was, however, a common desire to reach a settlement. The United Nations Commission was active in assisting the participants—the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia, and the Federal Consultative Assembly—throughout the Conference until it concluded successfully on November 2.

The results achieved by the parties at the Conference are highly significant. Not only was unanimity achieved upon the basic terms of the establishment of the new Indonesian nation, but agreements were drafted covering matters of great complexity on which common views were difficult to achieve. These agreements envisaged ratification within six weeks and the transfer of sovereignty before December 30, 1949. Three documents were signed for presentation to the respective governments for ratification: the charter of transfer of sovereignty;

the statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, including appendixes and special agreements on the principal subjects of future cooperation; and an agreement on the transition period, including special agreements on the treatment of certain subjects in connection with the transfer of sovereignty. In addition, the delegations of the Republic of Indonesia and the Federal Consultative Assembly presented the provisional constitution for the new Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

Although the question of sovereignty over New Guinea was not resolved at the conference, the parties agreed that its political status would be determined within a year through negotiations between them. In view of the existing conflicting viewpoints and other important factors, it was thought best to postpone final solution of this problem so that implementation of the broader agreements reached at The Hague could begin.

The agreements reached at The Hague and developments in Indonesia were considered by the General Assembly and the Security Council in December 1949.

Discussion in both the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and the plenary sessions of the General Assembly revealed that the great majority of members of the United Nations wished to congratulate the Netherlands and Indonesia on their agreement and to welcome the forthcoming establishment of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. All delegates who spoke, excepting those of the Soviet group, expressed gratification over the fact that terms of settlement had been agreed upon. The Committee by a vote of 43 to 5, with 4 abstentions, recommended that the General Assembly welcome the announcement of The Hague agreements and the establishment of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, and commend the parties and the United Nations Commission for Indonesia for their contributions to the settlement. The resolution in this sense was sponsored by 14 delegations from nations in the Middle and Far East that participated in January in the New Delhi Conference which had considered the Indonesian question.

On December 7, 1949, the General Assembly approved the 14 nation resolution by a vote of 44 to 5, with 2 abstentions, thus placing on record the all but unanimous support of the General Assembly for the action taken by the parties at The Hague. Moreover, both the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and the Assembly refused to vote on a Ukrainian resolution that ignored the constructive developments and all recent adjustments which the Netherlands had made to conform its policies to the recommendations of the Council and asked for the withdrawal of Netherlands forces to the positions occupied by them before the commencement of hostilities in December 1948, demanded the release

of Indonesian political prisoners and an end to hostile Netherlands acts in Indonesia, and proposed the establishment of a new United Nations Commission composed of representatives of states members of the Security Council. This propagandist resolution flouted the favorable developments in the case since December 1948 when substantially the same draft resolution had been submitted by the Soviet Delegation.

The Security Council considered the developments contained in a report from its Commission on December 12 and 13. Except for the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. Representatives, all members of the Council and the other states participating (Belgium, Burma, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines) in the discussion indicated their approval of the agreements reached at The Hague and of the contributions made by the parties and the Commission toward a final settlement.

This sentiment was reflected in a resolution presented by the Representative of Canada which congratulated the parties, welcomed the forthcoming establishment of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, commended the Commission, and requested the Commission to continue to discharge the responsibilities assigned to it by the Security Council and in particular to observe and assist in the implementation of the Hague agreements. The Ukrainian Representative submitted a resolution identical to the one he had put forward in the Assembly. The Council rejected this resolution by a vote of 2 in favor (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.) to 9 opposed.

The Canadian resolution was voted on in two parts. The first, noting with satisfaction the Commission's report on the Hague Conference, congratulating the parties and the Commission, and welcoming the establishment of the new Indonesian nation, received 9 votes in favor to 2 opposed (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.). The second, relating to the future work of the United Nations Commission, received 8 votes in favor to 2 opposed (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.) with one abstention (Argentina). Since the president of the Council ruled that both elements of the draft resolution were substantive, the two Soviet votes were vetoes, and therefore the resolution failed to pass.

The President decided, however, that the Commission had ample authority to continue to discharge duties laid down by the Council's resolution of January 28, 1949, which is still in effect. This interpretation was endorsed by statements of the Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States. The President further advised that he would have the records of the meetings of the Council forwarded to the Commission for its guidance in accord with these views.

In the coming months the Netherlands and Indonesia will be engaged in carrying out the provisions of the Hague agreements. Specific matters remaining include completion of troop withdrawals, holding of elections, and the settlement of the question of New Guinea which under the terms of the agreement is to be resolved within a year. The United Nations Commission for Indonesia possesses specific responsibilities under the Security Council's resolution of January 28 to aid in arrangements for withdrawal of troops and for the holding of elections in certain areas in Indonesia. The parties have requested the Commission to observe and aid in general implementation of the agreements, and the Commission will, of course, be available to assist the parties on these matters.

The transfer of sovereignty was accomplished on December 27, 1949. On the next day President Truman extended United States recognition to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and welcomed it into the community of peace-loving nations. At the same time he appointed H. Merle Cochran to serve as Ambassador to the new Republic. Ambassador Cochran then terminated his work as United States Representative on the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, and Edward A. Dow, Jr., his assistant, has been appointed acting representative. By the end of the year, information available indicated that 28 states had recognized the new Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

2. KOREA

The withdrawal of occupation forces from Korea, the removal of the barriers between the regions of the north and the south, and the unification of that country under a representative government freely determined by its people, have been the fundamental objectives in United Nations treatment of this problem since it was first considered in 1947. Although the occupation forces south of the 38th parallel have now been withdrawn and a democratically elected government representative of the people has been established in that part of the country, Korea is still divided, with little real prospect of unification in the foreseeable future.

As a result of the elections held in May 1948 under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, the General Assembly in its resolution of December 12, 1948, declared that the Government of the Republic of Korea, which has its capital at Seoul, was a lawful government having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of the country which lies south of the 38th parallel where the great majority of the people of Korea reside. The resolution stated that this government was based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of

Korea and that this was the only such government in Korea. It recommended that member states and other nations, in establishing their relations with the Republic, take this declaration into consideration. In the light of this declaration the United States on January 1, 1949, extended recognition to the Government of the Republic of Korea. During the course of the year recognition was accorded by 26 additional states.

The United Nations Commission on Korea, established under the same resolution, worked toward the United Nations objectives throughout 1949. Its report to the General Assembly described its repeated but fruitless efforts to obtain access to northern Korea, which included both direct overtures to the northern regime and endeavors to negotiate through the Government of the U.S.S.R. The Commission was unable to make progress either toward the unification of Korea or toward the reduction of barriers between the Republic of Korea and the northern regime. It could make no headway on the integration of the security forces of the north and the south. It also found that the border at the 38th parallel was becoming a scene of increasingly frequent exchanges of fire and armed raids and that this constituted a serious barrier to friendly intercourse among the people of Korea.

The Commission observed the withdrawal of United States forces, which was completed on June 29, 1949. Although it signified its readiness to verify the fact of withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces in north Korea—which the Government of the U.S.S.R. had announced as scheduled for completion by the end of 1948—it received no response to its message transmitted to the U.S.S.R. and could therefore take no action.

The Commission commented that the Republic of Korea looks to the United Nations for the solution of many of its problems, and that, as evidenced by its request that the stay of the Commission in Korea be prolonged for another year, it considered the presence of the Commission to have been a stabilizing factor in the situation.

The Commission found that the northern regime, in contrast, was the creature of a military occupant, and ruled by right of a mere transfer of power from that military government. The northern regime had never been willing to give its subjects an unfettered opportunity under the scrutiny of an impartial agency to pass upon its claim to rule. Its professions of desire for unity were belied in its actions. Its activities reached deep into the territory of the Republic and interfered in an utterly irresponsible manner with the normal processes of political development. The U.S.S.R. lent countenance to northern leaders in bellicose utterances and in refusal to consider ways of adjusting relations on any plane between north and south.

The Commission concluded that the division of Korea had caused bitterness and frustration among its people and had resulted in adverse economic consequences in the south, which was the only area to which the Commission had had access; that the embittered propaganda and hostile activities marking the relations between the two parts of Korea rendered the prospect of unification more and more remote; and that so long as the opposition of the U.S.S.R. to the efforts of the Commission continued there was little prospect of achieving unification. Finally, the Commission declared that it had not been able to facilitate the remaining achievement of the objectives set by the General Assembly.

The Commission's report was considered by the General Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Political Committee at five meetings, from September 28 to October 3, 1949. A representative of the Republic of Korea, Dr. Chough Pyong Ok, was invited to participate in these meetings. A proposal by the delegation of the U.S.S.R. to invite representatives of the northern regime, which had been accorded no status by the resolution of 1948 and which had refused to cooperate with the United Nations Commission, was rejected by the Committee by a vote of 35 to 7, with 12 abstentions.

After hearing a statement by the representative of the Republic of Korea, the Committee considered two resolutions, one submitted by the United States, Australia, China, and the Philippine Republic, and the other by the U.S.S.R.

The first of these noted that the United Nations objectives in Korea had not been fully accomplished, referred to the General Assembly's earlier definition of the status of the Government of the Republic of Korea, and expressed concern lest the situation reported by the Commission menace the safety and well-being of the Republic and the people of Korea and lead to open military conflict.

It proposed that the United Nations Commission be continued with the new function of observing and reporting any developments that might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea. The Commission was directed again to seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social, and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea. It was to make available its good offices and be prepared to assist whenever in its judgment a favorable opportunity might arise in bringing about the unification of Korea in accordance with the principles laid down by the Assembly's resolution of November 14, 1947. It was to be available for observation and consultation throughout Korea in the continuing development of representative government based on the freely expressed will of the people, including elections of national scope. And it was to verify the withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces in so far as it might be in a position to do so.

To accomplish these aims, the resolutions gave the Commission authority in its discretion to appoint observers and to utilize the services and good offices of persons whether or not representatives on the Commission. Provision was also made for the Commission's consultation with the Interim Committee, and it was directed to report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to any prior special session which might be called to consider the problem of Korea. It was to remain in existence pending a new decision by the General Assembly.

The resolution of the U.S.S.R. was in complete opposition. It called for the termination of the United Nations Commission on Korea on the ground that "foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea is inadmissible."

On October 3, 1949, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by a vote of 44 to 6, with 5 abstentions, adopted the joint resolution, and rejected by identical vote the Soviet resolution.

The General Assembly on October 21, 1949, considered in plenary session not only the Committee resolution but also the Soviet resolution which had been reintroduced despite its decisive defeat in the Committee. At the close of its single session of debate on the matter, the General Assembly adopted the Committee resolution by 48 votes to 6 with 3 abstentions, and rejected the Soviet proposal by a vote of 42 to 6, with 5 abstentions.

3. PALESTINE

The intensive work of the United Nations in regard to Palestine during this year can be seen most clearly under four principal aspects. These are the achievement of armistice agreements between the parties to the military hostilities, the efforts of the Conciliation Commission, the relief of refugees and plans for their employment in the economic development of the area, and the arrangements to be made respecting Jerusalem and the protection of its Holy Places.

Armistice Agreements. The conclusion of a cease-fire agreement between Israel and Egypt in the first few days of 1949 was the first of several agreements by which the hostilities between the Arab States and Israel that had made the preceding year one of intermittent warfare in Palestine were ended. By this agreement Israel and Egypt complied with a Security Council resolution of November 16, 1948, calling upon the parties directly concerned in the Palestine conflict to seek agreement with a view to an armistice. In conformity with the Israeli-Egyptian agreement, armistice negotiations between the two states began January 13, 1949, on the Island of Rhodes, under the chairmanship of the United Nations Acting Mediator, Ralph J.

Bunche. An armistice agreement was concluded on February 24. Separate negotiations were then conducted with the assistance of Mr. Bunche between Israel and other parties to the conflict resulting in armistice agreements between Israel and Jordan (April 3), Israel and Lebanon (March 23), and Israel and Syria (July 20). The Jordan and Egyptian agreements respectively included the Iraqi and Saudi Arabian participation in the armed hostilities.

These agreements, in conformity with the same Security Council resolution calling for an armistice, included a delimitation of armistice lines and provided for the withdrawal and reduction of forces. By stipulation, the armistice lines were not to be interpreted as having any relationship to the ultimate territorial arrangements to be agreed upon by the parties. Each of the agreements provided that its execution should be supervised by a Mixed Armistice Commission composed of five members, two being appointed by each party, the fifth being the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization or a senior officer designated by him, who should be chairman. The Jordan armistice provided for an additional special committee, composed solely of representatives of the parties to consider such matters as either party might submit to it, certain problems relating to Jerusalem being mentioned in this regard.

Because the armistice agreements superseded the truce established pursuant to resolutions of the Security Council adopted on May 29 and July 15, 1948, the Council considered that the functions assigned to the Mediator had been fulfilled. Accordingly, by resolution adopted on August 11, 1949, the Acting Mediator was relieved of further responsibility. This action thus terminated the Office of the Mediator established by General Assembly resolution of May 14, 1948. By the same resolution the Council reaffirmed the unconditional cease-fire order contained in its resolution of July 15 of the previous year and requested the Secretary-General to arrange for the continued service of such personnel of the existing Truce Supervision Organization as might be required in observing and maintaining the cease-fire and in performing the functions assigned to such personnel by the several armistice agreements. The Chief of Staff of this organization was requested to inform the Security Council on the observance of the cease-fire and armistices and to keep the Conciliation Commission apprised of matters affecting its work.

The Conciliation Commission. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, consisting of representatives of the United States, Turkey, and France, was established by the General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948. The United States Representatives have been successively Mark F. Ethridge, Paul A. Porter, and Ely E. Palmer. It held its first meeting in Geneva on January 17 and a

week later established headquarters at Government House in Jerusalem. Its terms of reference were broadly as follows:

a. To assist the Governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them;

b. To facilitate the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees, and the payment of compensation for their property losses;

c. To present to the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area and to call upon appropriate authorities to give formal guarantees as to the protection of and access to the Holy Places outside Jerusalem;

d. To seek arrangements to facilitate the economic development of the area.

Repatriation and resettlement of the refugees rapidly emerged as problems of central importance in achieving a peace settlement. The Arab Governments stood united upon the resolution of the General Assembly of December 11, 1948, which provided that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date." Israel, while expressing concern for the refugees, claimed that responsibility rested with the Arab States which started the hostilities. While the principle of repatriation was not rejected, Israel took the view that it could not accept large-scale repatriation for reasons of security and because such a return was impractical and even inadvisable from the standpoint of the refugees in view of the radically changed character of Israel, which had become Jewish in culture and economy. It considered that the number to be repatriated could only be determined in connection with a final peace settlement. The Arab States insisted that Israel must accept the principle of repatriation before negotiations on other subjects could proceed.

In meetings held with the Commission at Beirut from March 21 to April 5, 1949, however, the Arab States agreed to continue the exchange of views at a neutral place at which the Commission would be available for consultations with representatives of both the Arab States and Israel on all questions at issue. In so doing, the Arab representatives insisted that the refugee question should have priority in the discussions.

Lausanne was selected by the Commission as a suitable neutral place and discussions began there on April 26 among Delegations representing Egypt, Israel, the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. On May 12, the Delegations signed a protocol by which they undertook to discuss with the Commission the territorial adjustments necessary to achieve the objectives of the General Assembly resolution in respect of refugees as well as territorial and other questions. A map annexed to the protocol showed the bound-

aries proposed in the Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947, which was to form the basis of this discussion.

While proposals were made by both the Israeli and the Arab Delegations, the protocol did not materially advance the objective of an exchange of views on the related questions of refugees and boundaries. The Israeli Delegation proposed that the boundaries of Israel should conform to those of the former Palestine mandate except for the area of central Palestine where the line should conform generally with the armistice line. This would place within the territory of Israel substantial areas held under occupation outside the 1947 partition boundaries, including Western Galilee, Jaffa, and the areas of Lydda, Ramleh, and Beersheba and in addition a small area not under Israeli control known as the Gaza strip. In return for this latter area, Israel offered to accept responsibility for the approximately 230,000 refugees it contained as well as the resident population of the area. The Arab Delegations proposed the immediate return of those refugees who came from areas now held by Israel but forming part of the Arab territory under the 1947 partition plan.

In subsequent exchanges, Israel at the end of July offered to repatriate 100,000 refugees in addition to those already in Israeli-held territory, specifying that such repatriation must be part of a comprehensive plan for the settlement of the entire refugee problem, and could be put into effect only as an integral part of a general and final peace settlement. On August 29, the Arab Delegations made known their territorial claims for the first time. Aside from the territories allotted to the Arab state contemplated under the 1947 partition resolution, they claimed the additional territories of the Negeb and Eastern Galilee, partly as compensation for refugees not readmitted to Israeli-held territory and partly for reasons of security.

The Refugee Problem. Throughout the discussion on the refugee problem the Conciliation Commission, while admitting the principle of the return of the refugees to their homes to be well-founded, stressed the practical aspects of relief and settlement. It pointed out that certain refugees might not wish to return, and that for purely physical reasons the return of the refugees in some cases required general plans for resettlement under the control and supervision of the United Nations. "In the long run," it declared, "the final solution of the problem will be found within the framework of the economic and social rehabilitation of all the countries of the Near East."

While in Lausanne, the Commission on June 14 established a Technical Committee on Refugees. The Technical Committee was directed to make studies concerning the number of refugees, methods of determining their wishes with respect to repatriation, possible work relief projects, technical information based on previous studies which

might be useful in determining the practical possibilities of their resettlement, repatriation and rehabilitation, preliminary measures for the protection of the refugees and their property, and methods of paying compensation for their property losses. It spent 7 weeks in the field and reported to the Commission in Lausanne on August 20.

Meanwhile, these homeless and destitute victims of the hostilities in Palestine were spared from starvation as a result of the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees. This relief program was established by the General Assembly in November 1948 to care for an estimated 500,000 refugees until September 1949 at a cost of \$32,000,000. In fact it cared for nearly double that number and for 13 months instead of 9. This was due to the fact that the number of refugees was much larger than estimated and that, as a result of hostilities, there were other destitute persons deprived of their means of livelihood, who needed assistance. Moreover, the political stalemate in the peace negotiations postponed permanent repatriation or resettlement of the refugees which had been hoped for at the time of the General Assembly's action in 1948.

In response to the appeal for voluntary governmental contributions to support this relief program, 33 governments contributed over \$31,000,000 in cash, supplies, or services. Approximately half of this amount was contributed by the United States under the provisions of Public Law 25 of March 24, 1949, and Public Law 119 of June 23, 1949. In addition, substantial aid was provided by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, which furnished supplementary rations for children and eligible mothers. The International Refugee Organization, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization have contributed appropriate services or supplies to the extent possible within their financial resources. Substantial assistance was also given by numerous church groups and philanthropic agencies, either through the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees or through their own field agencies.¹

This relief program successfully achieved its limited purposes—the prevention of a great human catastrophe and the avoidance of the serious consequences that would surely have ensued had there been no such program. The humanitarian response to the needs of these unfortunate peoples, however, was not accompanied by progress in reaching a political settlement looking toward their repatriation and resettlement. It became apparent that, regardless of any political settlement which might be reached with respect to repatriation or re-

¹ A full account of the organization, operations, and financing of UNRPR is given in the report by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on "Assistance to Palestine Refugees."

settlement, the economic problems involved in their absorption would nevertheless have to be faced.

The Commission accordingly established, on August 23, 1949, an Economic Survey Mission to examine the economic situation in the countries affected by the recent hostilities and to make recommendations for an integrated program:

(a) To enable the Governments concerned to further such measures and development programmes as are required to overcome economic dislocation created by the hostilities;

(b) To facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 11 of the General Assembly's resolution of 11 December 1948, in order to reintegrate the refugees into the economic life of the area on a self-sustaining basis within a minimum period of time; and

(c) To promote economic conditions conducive to the maintenance of peace and stability in the area.

Under the direction of Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Economic Survey Mission proceeded immediately to make its study in the field so that plans and recommendations for future action on the refugee problem might be considered by the General Assembly in its autumn session. After 2 months of intensive work, the Mission submitted on November 17, 1949, an interim report.

The report recommended a realistic plan for a combined relief and works program under which direct relief would be gradually replaced by useful works projects furnishing employment to the refugees in order "to abate the emergency by constructive action and to reduce the refugee problem to limits within which the Near Eastern governments can reasonably be expected to assume any remaining responsibility." The mission determined that useful and productive employment could be found for all the refugees able and willing to work in view of the many potential opportunities to improve and reclaim the land, increase the supply and use of water, strengthen and extend road systems, and improve sanitation and shelter. In its opinion, however, the resources of the Arab countries sheltering most of the refugees were inadequate to cope unaided with the present cost of the emergency relief alone, much less to finance the cost of putting the refugees to work. It estimated that a combined relief and works program extending from January 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951, would cost \$54,900,000. Nevertheless, this combined program would cost only slightly more than the current rate of monthly expenditures for direct relief alone.

On the basis of the Mission's report the Delegations of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States submitted a draft resolution to the General Assembly which, with minor amendments,

was unanimously adopted on December 8, 1949. This provided for a new agency, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to replace the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees in April 1950 and to carry out the combined relief and works programs. The director of the new agency is responsible to the General Assembly and will be assisted by an Advisory Commission consisting of representatives of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Commission is empowered to add three other countries to its membership from among contributing governments. Its program is to be carried out in collaboration with the Near Eastern governments. Direct relief is to be terminated at the end of 1950 unless otherwise decided by the General Assembly at its next session. The cost of the combined program for 1950 is \$33,700,000. With the \$21,200,000 that would be requested for the works program for the first 6 months of 1951, the total for the 18 months' period would be \$54,900,000. The new program, like the former, is to be financed by voluntary governmental contributions.

This new program not only looks toward the end of international assistance for direct relief through employment for the refugees on pilot development projects but also points toward future measures after such assistance has been terminated. In the words of the Mission's interim report:

The inability of the refugees rapidly to find for themselves gainful employment in the Arab countries is but a symptom of the need for development of the unused resources of the Near East, where lack of available capital is responsible for much idle manpower. This is a task for the Near Eastern governments to do in their own way, and in due course, with the help of competent counsel and substantial financial credits.

Jerusalem. The General Assembly envisaged in its resolution of December 11, 1948, that the Jerusalem area should be accorded separate treatment from the rest of Palestine and that it should be placed under effective United Nations control. The Palestine Conciliation Commission was instructed to present to the fourth regular session of the Assembly, in 1949, detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area, with maximum local autonomy for distinctive groups consistent with this status.

Accordingly, the Conciliation Commission established a Committee on Jerusalem to study the problem of the future regime for Jerusalem and to supply the Commission with the material necessary for its deliberations. The Committee began its meetings on February 10, 1949. After numerous consultations with representatives of the Governments of Israel and the Arab States, with local authorities in the Jerusalem area, and with representatives of the religious communities

in Jerusalem, as well as visits to the principal Holy Places in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine, it concluded its work on August 27. It presented to the Commission a draft instrument for establishing a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area. This was adopted by the Commission with some modifications.

The proposed instrument represented a distinct departure from the provisions of the first resolution of the Assembly on the subject, dated November 29, 1947, which would have established in Jerusalem an international regime entirely separate from the neighboring Jewish and Arab States. It provided instead, in accordance with the General Assembly's instructions of December 11, 1948, for maximum local autonomy consistent with Jerusalem's international status. It envisaged delegating all normal powers of government, except for certain specified matters, to the responsible authorities of the respective Arab and Jewish zones of Jerusalem. Nothing in the instrument prevented these powers from being exercised by the adjacent states, Israel and Jordan. The principal powers reserved to the international administration were the control of the Holy Places, the supervision of demilitarization, and the protection of human rights in the Jerusalem area. A joint council was provided to facilitate the functioning of the city as a whole, and an international tribunal of three neutral judges was proposed to determine disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the instrument.

The United States as a member of the Conciliation Commission supported these proposals in the General Assembly as being within the Commission's terms of reference, and because they afforded a practical means of reconciling the two principal opposing positions: an international regime completely separate from the states now administering Jerusalem on the one hand, and an international regime that would be limited exclusively to United Nations supervision of the Holy Places in Jerusalem on the other. The United States believed that the Conciliation Commission's proposals provided positive safeguards for all those matters of international concern which prompted the General Assembly to adopt its resolution of December 11, 1948, without seriously infringing upon the rights of any group or seriously dislocating the existing arrangements for the Holy City's government.

When the question of Jerusalem was debated in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the Assembly, a subcommittee was asked to consider the various pending proposals on Jerusalem. The United States was not a member of this small body. The subcommittee did not consider the proposals of the Conciliation Commission. It instead prepared a resolution that restated the General Assembly's decision of 1947 that the City of Jerusalem shall be established as a separate entity admin-

istered by the United Nations, with the Trusteeship Council designated to discharge the responsibilities of the administering authority and to proceed immediately with the drawing up of a statute and implementing it.

The Assembly adopted this resolution by 38 votes to 14, with 7 abstentions. The United States Delegation, while making clear its support of an international regime for Jerusalem, voted against the resolution as being unrealistic and incapable of implementation in view of the changes that had occurred since 1947 and of the opposition of the local population and of the adjacent states actually in control of the city. The regime proposed in the resolution, it was felt, would also bring about an undesirable degree of interference by the international community in the daily lives of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In this, the United States was being consistent with its earlier position in the Conciliation Commission, in which it had opposed complete internationalization in favor of the modified regime contained in the Commission's proposals. The United States has of course made equally clear that it will loyally participate in the deliberations of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with the decision of the Assembly as the Council carries on its preparation of a statute for Jerusalem. The Council began work on the statute December 13, 1949.

4. KASHMIR

The dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir is a residual problem left from the partition of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent when full independence was granted India and Pakistan. At that time certain areas were confronted with a choice of which of these two large states to join. The state of Jammu and Kashmir (usually referred to as Kashmir) which is contiguous to both India and Pakistan and which has mixed Hindu and Moslem populations, became an object of contention at once. At the beginning of 1948, after hostilities had commenced in the area, the dispute was brought before the Security Council.

Substantial progress had been made toward checking hostilities during 1948, and the first objective—agreement by the two parties to stop the armed hostilities—was attained as the year 1949 opened. Throughout the remainder of this year the efforts of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan appointed by the Council to assist the parties in reaching the further agreements necessary to a peaceful decision were persistently pressed. While there were indications of progress, which in the nature of the circumstances was certain to be slow and not always constant, the final agreements necessary for peaceful settlement of the dispute had not yet been completed

as the year ended. In December the Commission submitted a report to the Security Council reviewing its work and recommending the appointment of a single United Nations representative to make an additional effort to bring the parties together on the points remaining in disagreement. At the year's end, active consultations with both governments were under way in New York under the auspices of the Security Council.

The developments of 1949 began with the coming into effect of a cease-fire on January 1. The cease-fire was accomplished by agreement of the Governments of India and Pakistan and flowed directly from their acceptance in 1948 of certain proposals made by the Commission. The two governments stated that "with acceptance of these proposals there remained no reason for continuation of hostilities." This agreement constituted the first of a group of three agreements contemplated by the Commission in two resolutions. One, dated August 13, 1948, covered not only a cease-fire but also the principles to govern a truce. The other, dated January 5, 1949, set forth principles to govern a plebiscite in which the inhabitants of the state would decide whether to accede to India or to Pakistan.

The Commission next sought to work out the details of agreements for the truce and the plebiscite. Both aspects were interrelated in all the work done during the year. With the specific approval of the Commission and through it of the Governments of India and Pakistan, the Secretary-General of the United Nations on March 21 nominated Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz to be the United Nations Administrator of the projected plebiscite to be held under the terms of the Commission's resolution. It was, however, not possible for the Administrator to proceed with the plebiscite until after the detailed truce agreement had been signed and was in process of satisfactory implementation. The Commission submitted detailed truce proposals to the two governments on April 28, but both governments found themselves unable for different reasons to accept these proposals. After the positions of the two governments were presented in the replies, the Commission undertook anew to find a basis for a truce agreement.

Meanwhile, military representatives of the two governments in a series of joint meetings with the Commission's representatives did agree, in July, to the demarcation of the cease-fire line over 800 miles of front. The demarcation on the ground and the observation of this line was assigned to 40 United Nations military observers already in the area, 20 of whom were United States personnel, acting under the general direction of the Military Adviser of the Commission, Lt. Gen. Maurice Delvoie of Belgium. Most of the sporadic violations of the cease-fire order that were reported occurred prior to the exact

demarcation of the line, and the cease-fire in general has been well observed.

In its renewed efforts to achieve a truce, the Commission first raised with the two governments the possibility of conducting joint high-level political talks to work out the agreement. The replies of the two governments led the Commission to conclude that no useful purpose would be served by such talks, and accordingly this approach was abandoned.

The Commission next presented to the Governments of Pakistan and India a proposal that they "submit to arbitration the differences existing between them concerning all questions" relating to the truce. The arbitrator proposed was Fleet Admiral Nimitz. The Commission proposed that his decisions were to be made "according to equity" and his decisions were to be binding on both parties. This proposal received the strong support of the United States and the United Kingdom. President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee both urged its acceptance in separate messages to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

On September 7 Pakistan accepted the proposal, but India informed the Commission on the next day that, while not opposed to the principle of arbitration, it could not accept the proposal as submitted. The view was expressed that the issues to be arbitrated were not clearly defined. Further, India considered that the question of the disarmament and disbandment of the Azad-Kashmir forces, which are local forces in West Kashmir operating under the over-all command of the Pakistan Army, was "not a matter for arbitration but for affirmative and immediate decision." The Commission explained to the Government of India that both governments had agreed that these forces should be disbanded before the plebiscite was held and that it was not the principle but the scope, method, and timing of such action which would be submitted to arbitration. India, however, still found itself unable to accept the proposal.

In the light of this situation the Commission decided it could do nothing further within its terms of reference to conclude a specific agreement on the truce and thus proceed to the major objective, the holding of a plebiscite. Accordingly, it departed from the sub-continent and on December 17, 1949, submitted a report to the Security Council. The Commission reported that it found itself unable to effect an agreement on the truce because of a basic divergence between the two parties on three issues: occupation by Indian forces of strategic points in the northern areas of the state; the question of the disarmament and disbandment of the Azad forces; and synchronization of the withdrawal of Pakistan forces on the one hand and of Indian armed forces on the other.

Near the close of the year the Security Council held two brief meetings on the matter. After receiving the Commission's report, the Council immediately appointed Gen. Andrew G. L. McNaughton of Canada, at that time president of the Council, to carry on consultations with both parties on the basis of new proposals in a fresh attempt to reach agreement. Both parties entered immediately into these consultations. Council debate was therefore postponed in order to give these new efforts full trial in the difficult circumstances of the case. Thus at the year's end no further action had been taken by the Council.

5. HYDERABAD

The Hyderabad question came under consideration by the Security Council again in May 1949, the previous discussion having been adjourned in the previous September pending clarification of the situation. The Council resumed its examination of the matter at the request of the Government of Pakistan, which described the question of Hyderabad as first, a matter affecting international and regional peace; second, a political question affecting the independence and sovereignty of a state; and third, a humanitarian question involving the persecution of the minority (Moslems) resident in the area.

The Indian Representative took the position in effect that no case existed; that Hyderabad had never been a state and so had no right to bring a complaint; that the matter was one of Indian domestic concern; and that whatever dispute formerly existed had disappeared. He stated that conditions had been normalized and arrangements would probably be completed by the autumn of 1949 for elections to a constituent assembly in Hyderabad which would determine the state's future relations with India.

The Pakistan Representative in reply sought to demonstrate the competence of Hyderabad to bring the complaint. He suggested, however, that if any doubt on this question remained, the International Court of Justice be asked for an advisory opinion. Meanwhile, he asked that provisional measures be taken to insure minorities in Hyderabad against persecution and proposed the holding by the United Nations of a plebiscite to determine the desires of the people of Hyderabad concerning their political future.

Following these statements, the Security Council again adjourned discussion. While the matter remains on its agenda, the parties have not requested that it take further action.

The holding of elections in Hyderabad before the end of 1949 proved to be impractical due to incompleteness of the electoral roll. However, the Government of Hyderabad formally acceded to India in November 1949, and it is now anticipated that elections to the constituent assembly will be held in 1950.

C. Action to Remove Threat to the Peace Arising over Berlin

Tangible improvement came about during the year in the situation in the city of Berlin which had been brought before the Security Council on September 29, 1948. At the beginning of 1949 the Soviet blockade was still in effect, and it was only through the air lift that the Western Powers were able to insure the safety and subsistence of their forces in Berlin and of the population of that city committed to their charge. In short, as the year began, the threat to the peace created by the Soviet blockade which the Western Powers had brought to the attention of the Security Council had not been diminished.

It will be recalled that, following the veto by the Soviet Union of a solution proposed by the six members of the Security Council not involved in the dispute, which the Western Powers had accepted, the president of the Council on November 30, 1948, established a Technical Committee on Berlin currency and trade. This Committee was composed of experts named by the six noninvolved members (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Syria, and the Ukraine). It was directed to make recommendations on the most equitable conditions for agreement relating to the introduction, circulation, and continued use of a single currency for Berlin under adequate Four Power supervision and regulations for the import and export trade of Berlin.

This Committee rendered its report to the president of the Council on February 11, 1949. After analyzing the problem, the Committee stated that it had been unable to arrive at a solution acceptable to both sides. On the same day the United States Government issued a statement setting forth the obstacles which the Committee had encountered and pointing out the fact that they had been created solely by the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the Western Powers as a whole expressed their continued readiness to explore any reasonable possibility of a fair and a workable agreement which might arise through a change in the Soviet position.

The Department of State noted that on January 30, 1949, Marshal Stalin made no mention of the currency question in Berlin in his reply to questions asked him by an American journalist concerning the Berlin problem. This was of particular interest since the currency question had hitherto been the announced reason for the Soviet blockade of Berlin. Accordingly, on February 15, in the course of a conversation in the lounge at Lake Success, Ambassador Jessup, then United States Deputy Representative on the Security Council, inquired of Mr. Malik, the Soviet Representative on the Security Council, whether Marshal Stalin's omission had any particular significance. One month

later, on March 15, Mr. Malik informed Mr. Jessup that Marshal Stalin's omission of any reference to the currency problem "was not accidental," and that the Soviet Government regarded the currency question as important but felt that it could be discussed at a meeting of Foreign Ministers if a meeting of that body could be arranged to review the whole German problem. In response to further questions, Mr. Malik informed Ambassador Jessup on March 21 that, if a definite date could be set for the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the restrictions on trade and transportation in Berlin could be removed reciprocally and the blockade could be lifted before the meeting.

The Governments of France and the United Kingdom were kept informed of these informal conversations and on April 5 Ambassador Jessup read to Mr. Malik a statement of the agreed position of the Three Powers. Further clarification of the position of the Soviet Union led to the conclusion of an agreement among the Four Powers on May 4, 1949, as follows:

1. All the restrictions imposed since March 1, 1948, by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on communications, transportation, and trade between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany and between the Eastern zone and the Western zones will be removed on May 12, 1949.

2. All the restrictions imposed since March 1, 1948, by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, or any one of them, on communications, transportation, and trade between Berlin and the Eastern zone and between the Western and Eastern zones of Germany will also be removed on May 12, 1949.

3. Eleven days subsequent to the removal of the restrictions referred to in paragraphs one and two, namely, on May 23, 1949, a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers will be convened in Paris to consider questions relating to Germany and problems arising out of the situation in Berlin including also the question of currency in Berlin.

The sixth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers then took place in Paris, from May 23 to June 20, 1949. The Foreign Ministers confirmed and clarified the New York agreement of May 4 and decided that the occupation authorities should consult together in Berlin on a quadripartite basis, with the purpose of mitigating the effects of the present administrative division of Berlin. This was to be accomplished through expansion of trade, development of financial and economic relations, facilitation of the exchange of information, and the movement of persons and goods between Berlin and the respective zones of occupation. Questions of common interest relating to the administration of the four sectors in Berlin were also to be considered with a view to normalizing as far as possible the life of the city.

The quadripartite consultations, however, did not achieve a satis-

factory solution to those continuing problems, and they were adjourned on September 28, 1949. While it was impossible to make further progress in settling the Berlin problem during the rest of the year, the establishment of a *modus vivendi* and the effort at quadripartite consultation moderated, at least for the time being, a serious threat to the peace.

It was evident from the outset that the United Nations was exerting a persistent influence toward such improvement of the situation. The United Nations offered an effective forum in which public opinion could make articulate its opposition to Soviet action in Berlin, and it provided the opportunities for the conversations between representatives of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union that led to the lifting of the blockade. To the resulting easement during 1949 of the critically difficult situation that existed regarding Berlin, the United Nations made a substantial contribution.

D. Action to Complete Territorial Settlements Pending After World War II

I. THE FORMER ITALIAN COLONIES

The United Nations this year reached a decision on the disposition of two of the former Italian colonies (Libya and Italian Somaliland) and made provision for the remaining study and investigation necessary to complete a solution for the third territory, Eritrea. Historically the decision is important because it is a new starting point for the destiny of some three million people. It is especially significant for the United Nations because, under the terms of the treaty of peace with Italy, the General Assembly of the United Nations received in 1949 the responsibility of making a final and binding international disposition of these territories and has already fulfilled the larger part of this task in a heartening demonstration of effective cooperative effort.

Under the treaty of peace with Italy the disposition of her former African colonies—Libya (consisting of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan), Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland—was to be determined by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the U.S.S.R. within one year from the coming into force of the Italian treaty on September 15, 1947. If they could not agree within the prescribed period, the treaty provided that the matter was to be referred to the General Assembly and the Four Powers bound themselves in advance to accept and to carry out its recommendation.

The Four Powers undertook to seek a solution "in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested governments." In September 1948 the Council of Foreign Ministers met in Paris to consider the results of the work conducted by their deputies on the basis of the report of a Four Power Commission of Investigation which had visited all the former colonies and studied all factors with much care. The Council failed to reach agreement. Thereupon, in accordance with the treaty, the Four Powers submitted the matter to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 15, 1948. Pressure of other business made it impossible for the Assembly to consider this problem at the first part of its Third Session in Paris.

It was first considered by the General Assembly in the spring of 1949, at the second part of its Third Session in New York. Initial proposals were made at that time individually by the United Kingdom, India, Iraq, the U.S.S.R. and jointly by 19 Latin American states.

The United Kingdom draft, which was supported by the United States, proposed the following: independence for Libya after 10 years, with Cyrenaica to be placed under British trusteeship during the interim period, and the remainder to be placed under a trusteeship to be determined later; incorporation of most of Eritrea into Ethiopia with special protection for minorities, the western province of Eritrea to be incorporated into the adjacent Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a United Nations trusteeship for Italian Somaliland, with Italy as the administering power.

India advocated a direct United Nations trusteeship for Libya and Italian Somaliland for a period of between 10 and 20 years, with plebiscites at the end of the trusteeship term to determine the will of the inhabitants on their future government. It suggested a special investigating commission to make a further study of the wishes of the people of Eritrea. Iraq sought immediately independence for Libya, a five-power collective trusteeship for Italian Somaliland, and an investigating commission to examine the Eritrean problem. The U.S.S.R. sought direct United Nations trusteeship for all three territories, with independence for Libya and Eritrea after 5 years and for Somaliland after 10. The Latin American states suggested trusteeship for all three territories under terms and conditions to be developed later.

These and several other proposals were thoroughly considered by a small subcommittee of the First Committee to which the problem was given for study and recommendation. The small body developed

a compromise based on modification of the earlier British plan, which in brief embodied the following elements:

a. Independence for Libya in 10 years with immediate British trusteeship in Cyrenaica, and French trusteeship in the Fezzan, and Italian trusteeship in Tripolitania to be instituted by the end of 1951. In each case the administering authorities were to administer the respective territories so as not to prejudice their eventual incorporation in a united Libya;

b. Union of Eritrea, except for the western province, with Ethiopia, with provision for the protection of minorities and, without prejudice to the sovereignty of Ethiopia, for appropriate charters for the cities of Asmara and Massawa; union of the western province with the adjacent Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; and

c. Italian trusteeship for Italian Somaliland.

This plan was adopted by the First Committee except for the proposed solution for the western province of Eritrea. When the draft resolution was considered in Plenary Session of the General Assembly, those portions of it providing for Italian trusteeship in Somaliland and in Tripolitania after 1951 failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority support. The defeat of the provisions for Italian trusteeship made the rest of the plan unacceptable to a majority of the members. Consequently the whole problem was put over for further consideration by the General Assembly in September.

Decision by the General Assembly. In the autumn session of the Assembly this complicated problem was again assigned to the First Committee. Its consideration required the 6 weeks from September 30 to November 12. As in the spring, the Committee invited Italy to participate without vote in its discussions and provided for appropriate presentation of the views of representative groups of inhabitants of the former colonies. Its exhaustive examination of the matter ranged over a great variety of proposals.

The United States had modified its position in the light of the earlier Assembly discussion and the developing facts bearing on the matter, and in an effort to meet what appeared to be the trend of opinion generally, especially with respect to Libya. In his address at the first plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the Secretary of State said:

. . . the General Assembly should work out plans for a United and independent Libya to be carried to completion in not more than 3 or 4 years.

It is the view of my government that the Assembly should agree on provisions enabling the peoples of Eritrea to join in political association with neighboring governments and the peoples of Somaliland to enjoy the benefits of the system of trusteeship.

In the course of the work that followed, the United States further suggested that the form of government to be established should be worked out by the inhabitants of Libya through consultation among representatives of its component parts, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. An advisory council should be established to "advise and assist the British and French administrations as to how assistance might be given to the inhabitants with regard to the formation of a government for a unified Libya. . . ." The United States also reaffirmed its support for union of the eastern provinces of Eritrea with Ethiopia because of the strong ethnic, religious, and economic ties long existing there and again advocated union of the predominantly Moslem western province with the Sudan. The belief also was reasserted that Italy, under a trusteeship agreement approved by the Assembly, could and would "provide an administration which will effectively and promptly assist the people of Italian Somaliland in the economic, political, and social development of their country, and will bring to fulfillment their desire for self-government and independence."

During the debate other members also presented concrete proposals. The U.S.S.R. proposed immediate independence for Libya but made no provision for the introduction and development of local governmental institutions capable of assuming the responsibilities of statehood. The Soviet proposal also called for the immediate withdrawal from Libya of all foreign armed forces and personnel. For Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, the U.S.S.R. plan envisaged direct United Nations trusteeships for 5 years, followed by independence.

An Indian proposal called for creation of a united Libyan state within 2 years, with a United Nations commission of experts to plan for a representative constituent assembly and to approve the constitution that the latter would frame. Pakistan offered a plan which was broadly similar to the United States proposal as regards Libya but which proposed that Eritrea become independent in 3 years subject to an adjustment providing Ethiopia with an outlet to the sea, and that Italian Somaliland be placed under a direct United Nations trusteeship for 10 years with a view to eventual union with other Somali-inhabited territories. Iraq pressed for immediate proclamation of a united and independent Libya and for steps to hand over sovereign powers to the new state as soon as practicable.

To consider these and such other proposals as might be offered a a subcommittee was established, of which the United States was a member. The prevailing disposition of opinion in the subcommittee was toward granting of independence within periods so short as to raise some anxiety on practical grounds regarding both administrative arrangements and the readiness of the peoples concerned for

steadfast discharge of the responsibilities of full self-government. However, the plan developed by the subcommittee was in the main similar to that proposed by the United States in the cases of Libya and Italian Somaliland.

On Eritrea, the predominant trend of opinion both in the First Committee and in its subcommittee, while sympathetic toward reasonable Ethiopian claims to special consideration, favored delay of a decision pending further study and investigation. At one point during the subcommittee proceedings the United States joined with several other states in suggesting a compromise solution embodying a union between Eritrea and Ethiopia under the Emperor of Ethiopia with wide provision for Eritrean autonomy within the constitutional framework of the union. This suggestion was later withdrawn when it became apparent that no final decision by the Assembly on the disposition of Eritrea would be possible at that session.

After further discussion and some amendment, the draft resolution received from the subcommittee was approved by the First Committee by a vote of 49 to 1, and 8 abstentions. This resolution was then adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 48 to 1 (Ethiopia), with 9 abstentions.

The resulting decision of the Assembly may be summarized as follows:

a. Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan, to be constituted an "independent and sovereign state," with independence to become effective not later than January 1, 1952. A constitution for Libya, providing for the form of government, would be worked out by representatives of the three parts, meeting in a National Assembly. There would be a United Nations Commissioner for Libya, assisted by an Advisory Council (consisting of representatives of Egypt, France, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and four representatives of the people of Libya, including minorities) to assist the people of Libya "in the formulation of the constitution and the establishment of an independent government." The administering powers (Britain and France), in cooperation with the commissioner, would initiate immediately steps for the transfer of power to a duly constituted independent government and coordinate their activities so as to develop necessary governmental institutions and to promote the attainment of Libyan unity and independence. When established as an independent state, Libya would be admitted to the United Nations.

b. Italian Somaliland would become independent after a period of 10 years of Italian trusteeship. As the Administering Authority, Italy would be assisted by an Advisory Council composed of representatives of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations would negotiate a trusteeship agreement with Italy, after which that country might arrange with the United Kingdom to take over provisional administration of the territory pending approval of the trusteeship agreement by the

General Assembly. The agreement would include a declaration of constitutional principles guaranteeing the rights of the inhabitants and providing for institutions to insure the development of full self-government.

c. The problem of the disposition of Eritrea would undergo further study and investigation by a United Nations Commission consisting of representatives of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa. The Commission would be under instructions to take into account, particularly, the wishes and welfare of the local inhabitants, the interests of peace and security in East Africa, and Ethiopia's geographical, historical, ethnic, and economic rights and claims as well as her presumptive need for adequate access to the sea. The Commission would prepare its report, together with such proposals as it wished to make, for consideration at the fifth regular session of the General Assembly. Prior to the convening of the next Assembly, the Interim Committee would consider the Commission's report and submit its own conclusions to the Assembly.

The United States supported this resolution in the plenary sessions of the Assembly though with expressed disappointment over the inconclusive recommendation on Eritrea. Viewing the substantial agreement that had been otherwise reached on the disposition of the Italian colonies, however, the United States Representative, Ambassador Philip Jessup, pointed out that the Assembly's decision was based on justice and the principles of the Charter and would be a "milestone in the development of the United Nations as an instrument truly capable of solving even the most difficult of the problems facing the world today." He also referred to the suggestion made by the Secretary of State in his address to the Assembly on September 21 that :

The General Assembly's responsibility for the disposition of the Italian colonies arose from the agreement of the four major signatories to the Italian peace treaty to accept the Assembly's recommendation. This grant of a new power of decision to an organ of the United Nations, by express prior agreement of the responsible parties, opens a promising avenue toward enhanced usefulness of the United Nations.

The development of this precedent might well assist the settlement of various other political problems by special agreements, in advance, to accept recommendations of the General Assembly or the Security Council or in legal questions the determination of the International Court of Justice.

In addition the General Assembly adopted two related resolutions. One charged the Interim Committee¹ to study the question of methods of delimiting the boundaries of the former colonies, in so far as not already fixed by international agreement. The second provided that a committee consisting of five principal officers of the Assembly should

¹ See p. 95.

nominate candidates for the post of Libyan Commissioner. This committee unanimously proposed Adrian Pelt, an Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, and he was promptly elected by the Assembly to the new position.

After the adjournment of the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council met in special session to consider the responsibilities conferred on it with respect to Italian Somaliland. It appointed a subcommittee, composed of a Representative each from the Dominican Republic, Iraq, the Philippines, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, to negotiate with Italy the draft of a trusteeship agreement for that territory in accordance with the General Assembly resolution. The intention was to submit a draft trusteeship agreement to the session of the Trusteeship Council which began January 19, 1950. Early in January also the five-member United Nations Commission of Inquiry in Eritrea met at Lake Success to start its work.

2. TRIESTE

The problem of the Free Territory of Trieste is still pending before the Security Council, to which certain functions in regard to Trieste were given under the peace treaty with Italy.

The area of the Free Territory continues to be divided into two separate zones, one under the administration of the British-American military command, containing the city and port of Trieste and a small rural area, and the other under the Yugoslav military command, a predominantly rural area to the south of the city. The British-American command has furnished the Security Council regular reports on the administration of its zone. These reports indicate that, despite continuing serious obstacles, progress has been made with the aid of the European Recovery Program toward industrial and commercial recovery of the zone. Administrative elections were held in the Anglo-American zone in June. The pro-Italian parties obtained 63 percent of the votes cast, with 35 percent of the voters supporting the parties that advocate the continued independence of the Free Territory.

In 1947 and 1948 periodic consultations and discussions in the Security Council had failed to produce agreement on a candidate for the governor of Trieste who under the peace treaty was to be appointed by the Security Council. The question was again taken up by the Council early in 1949 at the suggestion of the Soviet Union which proposed the appointment of Colonel Fluckiger, a Swiss citizen, but this proposal received the support solely of the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S. S. R. The view expressed by the Representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France in the meetings

on this matter was that, as a result of the continued delays in the appointment of a governor caused by the Soviet unwillingness in the past to consider any candidate except its own and because of the growing incorporation of the Yugoslav-administered zone of the Territory into Yugoslavia, the only solution which would restore stability in the area would be the return of the Territory to Italian sovereignty.

It will be recalled from last year's report that, convinced that conditions in the Free Territory of Trieste had reached the point at which the treaty settlement for Trieste had become unworkable, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France had proposed on March 20, 1948, that the Soviet Union and Italy join them in negotiating an additional protocol to the Italian peace treaty which would provide for the return of the Free Territory to Italy. The Italian Government expressed its agreement, but the Soviet Government has so far neither accepted nor rejected the substance of the proposal.

The only additional development in 1949 to be noted was the announcement by the Yugoslav military command in July that it had concluded an agreement with the Yugoslav Government for a loan of 500 million dinars to be used for the purpose of replacing the Yugo lira by the Yugoslav dinar as a legal currency in the Yugoslav-administered zone. The Governments of the United States and United Kingdom protested this action in notes addressed to the Government of Yugoslavia, on the ground that such currency conversion represented an additional move in the direction of tying the Yugoslav zone even more closely to Yugoslavia. Copies of the notes were forwarded to the Security Council. The Council has not been asked to consider this specific matter and has taken no action in respect to it.

E. Action to Obtain Performance of Human Rights Provisions in Peace Treaties With Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania

The question of observance of human rights in three of the enemy states in Europe was one of great concern in the General Assembly in both the spring and fall sessions of 1949. The antecedents of this question go back to the Yalta Conference in 1945 where President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin pledged their countries to act together in restoring freedom to the peoples of Europe who had been under German domination during the war. The Allies promised to these people that they would be able to establish democratic institutions of their own choice by means of free elec-

tions. In the Charter of the United Nations later in 1945 all members agreed to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Subsequently, the former enemy countries expressly undertook in the treaties of peace to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting."

Contrary to this obligation the Communist Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, which had been imposed on the peoples of these countries against their will, embarked upon policies of systematic violation of the essential human rights of their own citizens. The United States Government, both before and after the entry into force of the peace treaties, protested these violations in a series of notes delivered to the three governments.

The treaties of peace with these former enemy countries provided procedures for settling any differences which might arise among the signatories over their interpretation and execution. The United States in April 1949 invoked these procedures for the purpose of obtaining an impartial examination of its charges against Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, and corrective action. The United Kingdom in association with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand took similar steps.

Early in 1949 a wave of indignation swept the world following the imprisonment and trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and the Protestant churchmen in Bulgaria. The Governments of Bolivia and Australia brought before the spring session of the General Assembly the question of observance of human rights in these two countries, with particular emphasis on the trials of the churchmen.

In the debate, certain delegations expressed doubts as to the authority of the General Assembly to deal with this question on the ground that it involved matters of domestic jurisdiction within the meaning of article 2 (7) of the Charter. The Governments of Bulgaria and Hungary which were invited to participate in the Assembly proceedings based their refusal on this ground. The Soviet and other Eastern European Delegations, in stark contrast to their position in many other matters, took the view that the General Assembly was not competent to discuss the question.

The United States supported the jurisdiction of the General Assembly. The field of human rights, the United States Delegation pointed out, was brought expressly within the scope of the Charter in articles 55 and 56. Furthermore, article 2 (7) of the Charter was not intended to preclude discussion, expression of opinion, and recom-

mendation by the Assembly in appropriate cases where there is a persistent and willful disregard of human rights in any particular country whether or not a member of the United Nations. The United States Delegate emphasized that, in determining the applicability of this article, the Assembly should give due weight to the significant fact that Bulgaria and Hungary have assumed in the treaties of peace special obligations under international law to secure human rights to their peoples.

On the substance of the matter the United States, Australia, and a number of other delegations charged that the freedom of political opinion guaranteed under the peace treaties has been denied in Hungary and Bulgaria through managed elections and the forced dissolution of opposition parties; that safeguards for an independent judiciary have been critically impaired; that freedom of press and publication has ceased to exist; that governmental authorities prevent publication of any views distasteful to the ruling group; that freedom of public meeting has been denied regularly to all except the controlling minority group; and that the two governments have sought by coercive measures to restrict the legitimate functions of the churches and place them under "acceptable" leadership. The United States Delegation pointed out that Cardinal Mindszenty was arrested and tried on charges that were mere pretexts for the government's principal objective of discrediting him and of destroying his influence.

The Delegations of the Slav states denied the charges of violations of human rights, attempted to confuse and refute these charges, and made various countercharges. They claimed that in both Hungary and Bulgaria religion was not only respected by the state but was also assisted by it; the churches were open and new churches were being built; the religious activities of the churchmen brought to trial had not been in any way at issue. They alleged that Cardinal Mindszenty organized a plot to overthrow the Hungarian Republic and to establish a Fascist-monarchist regime; that Bulgarian pastors had systematically transmitted to foreign intelligence agents military and other information; that all the trials had been public; and that the accused had "confessed." The two governments were forced to take steps, they claimed, to protect themselves against "traitors" and "spies."

After an extensive debate the General Assembly in its spring session approved a resolution submitted by Bolivia and supported by the United States. In this resolution the General Assembly referred to the grave accusations against Hungary and Bulgaria and expressed its deep concern; noted with satisfaction that steps had been taken by several signatories to the peace treaties regarding these accusations and expressed the hope that measures would be diligently applied in accordance with the treaties; drew the attention of Bulgaria and Hun-

gary to their obligations under the treaties ; and held the question active on the agenda for its next session. There were 34 votes for the resolution with 6 against (the Slav Delegations) ; 9 members abstained.

The next phase of developments concerned the further efforts to put into effect the provisions of the treaties of peace with these three former enemy states. Under the pertinent provisions any dispute concerning the interpretation or execution of these treaties not settled by direct diplomatic negotiations should be referred to the three heads of mission of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. in Bulgaria, Hungary, or Rumania as the case might be. If such dispute is not resolved by the heads of mission within 2 months, it is to be referred to a commission composed of one representative of each party and a third member selected by mutual agreement of the parties. In the absence of such agreement the Secretary-General of the United Nations may appoint the third member at the request of either party. The decision of the majority of members shall be accepted by the parties as definitive and binding.

Having received unsatisfactory replies from the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania to its notes requesting action to remedy the violations of the human rights clauses of the treaties, the United States proposed that under the procedure provided in the treaties the three heads of mission of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. meet in the three Balkan capitals to consider the disputes which had arisen between the United States and the three Balkan countries. Again the United Kingdom in association with Canada, New Zealand, and Australia took similar steps.

The Soviet Government refused to authorize its Ambassadors to meet with the United States and United Kingdom heads of mission on the ground that the three Balkan governments had not violated the human rights provisions of the treaties, but that on the contrary the measures complained of were taken in execution of the treaty provisions obligating the former enemy countries to dissolve organizations of Fascist type. Moreover, the Soviet Government asserted that these measures were within the domestic jurisdiction of the former enemy states.

The United States then requested the three Balkan governments to join in appointing the commissions provided for in the peace treaties for the settlement of disputes. The three governments rejected this request on grounds similar to those given by the Soviet Government as justifying its refusal to cooperate.

When the Assembly resumed the consideration of this question in the fall of 1949, its first step, on the initiative of the Australian Government, was to extend the scope of the question to include Rumania

as well. The debate reviewed the more recent developments in Bulgaria and Hungary and dwelt at some length upon conditions in Rumania.

The United States Delegate pointed out that the Rumanian regime had destroyed democratic political parties; converted the country's judicial system into an instrument of its suppressive policy; exercised the police power of the state in disregard of the basic civil liberties of the Rumanian people; denied freedom of press and publication; and subjected religious life to an unprecedented degree of control by the government. As a glaring example of restrictions on freedom of religion the United States Delegation pointed out that the Roman Catholic Church has been subjected to such persecution that at present none of its bishops was in a position to exercise his rightful religious functions, that the Uniat Church had been dissolved by government decree, and that oppressive measures had been taken against the Jewish religious community.

The Slav Delegations once more denied all charges against the three governments and accused the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom of interfering in the internal affairs of the three Balkan countries. They again affirmed the argument, already repudiated by the General Assembly, that the Assembly was not competent to deal with this matter and that the parties to the treaties alone, to the exclusion of any organ of the United Nations, had the right to interpret the peace treaties.

Reporting on the impasse reached in the efforts to enlist the cooperation of the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania in the procedures under the peace treaties, the United States Delegation pointed out that the three governments had sought to justify their refusal to cooperate on the legal ground that the peace treaty procedures for the settlement of disputes were inapplicable. Although in the view of the United States Government this was an untenable position, the United States nevertheless declared its willingness to have the International Court of Justice determine this issue in an advisory opinion, which the United States would accept as binding. The United States Delegate expressed the hope that the three Balkan governments would also be willing to accept in advance the Court's opinion on this issue.

To give effect to this approach Bolivia, the United States, and Canada jointly proposed a resolution through which the General Assembly would request the International Court of Justice to render an opinion on the question of whether disputes existed which are subject to solution through the peace treaty procedures and whether the three governments are obligated to cooperate in carrying out these procedures and to appoint their representatives to the treaty com-

missions. Should the International Court of Justice give an affirmative reply and should this reply not lead to the activation of the treaty commissions, the Court was requested to say whether, even if one party failed to appoint its representative, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was authorized to appoint the "third member" of the treaty commission; and whether a treaty commission thus composed of a representative of one party and a third member appointed by the Secretary-General would constitute a commission competent to make a binding decision in settlement of the disputes.

The joint resolution also expressed the increased concern of the General Assembly at the grave charges against the three countries and provided for further review of this matter at the 1950 session of the Assembly.

The Slav Delegations opposed this approach. The joint resolution, however, was accorded overwhelming support in the Assembly. After it was amended to emphasize the increased concern of the Assembly occasioned by the refusal of the three governments to cooperate in the Assembly proceedings, the resolution was adopted by 47 votes. Only 5 delegations opposed it (the U.S.S.R., Ukrainian and Byelorussian S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia), and seven delegations abstained from voting.

F. Action to Uphold the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of States

I. GREECE

The substantial elimination by Greece of Communist guerrilla activity, which since 1946 had been aided and supported by the states to the north, occurred during this year. On October 16, 1949, the guerrilla regime conceded the failure of its armed campaign to overthrow the Greek Government and announced cessation of its military activities. This coincided with the resumption by the Greek Government of effective control of the northern border districts and with the withdrawal of the bulk of the guerrilla forces into adjacent countries. Meanwhile the United Nations, acting through its Special Committee on the Balkans, continued its work of observation of the situation along the northern frontiers of Greece. The Special Committee also persevered, in the face of repeated rebuffs from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia which still refuse to cooperate with it, in efforts to conciliate the differences between those countries and Greece and to lay a basis for the restoration of normal relations. The Special

Committee has been continued for another year by the General Assembly.

Work of the Special Committee on the Balkans. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) has functioned in Greece for more than 2 years under the terms of successive General Assembly resolutions. The original resolution, adopted by the General Assembly on October 21, 1947, was based on proposals by the United States which has brought the question of "Threats to the Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of Greece" before the Assembly. The resolution called upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia not to furnish aid to the Greek guerrillas, and recommended the early establishment of normal diplomatic and good neighborly relations among the four Balkan states. It further recommended that the three northern countries on the one hand, and Greece on the other, cooperate in the establishment of effective frontier control machinery and in handling refugee and minority problems. The Special Committee was directed to observe compliance by the four Balkan states with the General Assembly's recommendations, to render assistance to those states in the implementation of the resolution, and to keep the United Nations informed.

Nine states serve actively on UNSCOB: Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Though chosen by the General Assembly to serve, Poland and the U.S.S.R. have refused to do so. Greece has cooperated with the Committee and has accorded it all necessary facilities. The Special Committee has repeatedly offered to make available its services to Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia to assist in conciliating their differences with Greece or to investigate their complaints against Greece for border violations, but these countries have obdurately refused to cooperate with it. Unable to carry out its observation program in the territories of the northern countries, the Special Committee has been limited to observing conditions and events along the northern frontiers from within Greek territory. This has been possible through the establishment of several observation groups, stationed at vantage points near the northern frontier. The United States has furnished a full share of the necessary observers for the past 2 years.

In 1948 UNSCOB informed the General Assembly that large-scale aid continued to be furnished the Greek guerrillas by the northern Communist countries despite the General Assembly's injunction. It also called the Assembly's attention to the plight of over 25,000 Greek children who had been removed, in numerous cases forcibly, by the guerrillas from northern Greece into neighboring countries. On November 27, 1948, the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 47 to 6,

with no abstentions, a resolution originally sponsored by the United States, United Kingdom, France, and China under which the Special Committee was continued and its terms of reference were improved. The Assembly also unanimously approved a resolution urging the earliest possible return to their homes of the Greek children who had been removed into countries of eastern Europe.

During the same session of the Assembly a Conciliation Committee was appointed, presided over by the president of the General Assembly, which met with representatives of the four Balkan states and endeavored to devise a formula each could accept as a basis for the restoration of normal relations and the regulation of frontier questions. These talks were continued during the second part of the third session at New York in the spring of 1949, but they fell short of agreement when Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia failed to accept the Conciliation Committee proposals, to which Greece had signified its assent.

The Special Committee thereafter renewed its efforts to promote the establishment of normal relations between Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece on the other. It repeatedly drew the attention of the governments in question to the recommendations made by the General Assembly. The Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia nevertheless continued to disregard them and refused to recognize UNSCOW in any way.

The Special Committee also continued its careful investigation of the nature and extent of the external support given the Greek guerrilla movement. It found that Albania and Bulgaria, by official declarations in the press and in radio broadcasts from government-controlled stations and by other official and officially sanctioned activities, had directly encouraged and incited the Greek guerrillas in their attempts to overthrow the Greek Government. Its findings showed that both countries, and Albania most conspicuously, had provided large quantities of war material and other supplies; had allowed the guerrillas extensive use of their territories to escape from the Greek Army and for other tactical purposes; had actively assisted the guerrillas in the recruitment of Greeks in their territories; and had permitted the existence there of a system whereby guerrillas were returned to fight in Greece after treatment in hospitals and convalescent centers. The Special Committee concluded that the territories of the northern states were being used "as a base for the preparation or launching of armed action" in direct contravention of the General Assembly's recommendations. It further ascertained that there had been an increase in the support afforded to the guerrillas from certain states not bordering upon Greece, particularly Rumania. Existence of a highly coordinated system of support involving the latter country and other

Balkan neighbors of the Greece was apparent. On the other hand, the Special Committee found that while Yugoslavia had continued to give moral and material aid to the guerrillas during the closing months of 1948 and the early part of 1949 this aid had subsequently diminished "and may have ceased."

With reference to the return of Greek children to their homes, the Special Committee was compelled to report that the states which had received such children had not complied with the resolution of the General Assembly. Indeed, it was found that in some instances certain of these children had been sent back to Greece as fighters in the guerrilla ranks.

During the period immediately prior to the General Assembly's renewed consideration of the Greek problem, the Special Committee was able to conclude that the Greek Army had eliminated organized guerrilla resistance in the northern frontier area and that many guerrillas, as well as other Greek nationals, had either fled or been taken into the territories of the northern states, particularly Albania. It noted that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia had announced that Greek guerrillas entering their territory had been disarmed and interned and that Yugoslavia had implemented its declared policy of closing its frontier with Greece.

The Special Committee transmitted these findings in reports of August 2 and September 16 to the autumn session of the General Assembly. In the second of these reports, it recommended that the northern countries be asked to cooperate in a United Nations program of verification of the conditions under which Greek guerrillas in their territories had been disarmed and interned. It asked that Albania and Bulgaria be put on notice that further disregard of the Assembly's recommendations would increase the "gravity of the threat to peace in the Balkans." Finally, it recommended that a further conciliation effort be made during the fourth Assembly session to find means of settling peacefully the differences between Greece and the northern countries.

New Conciliation Efforts. Acting first on the Special Committee's recommendation for a renewed conciliation effort during the Assembly session, the First Committee appointed on September 29, 1949, a new Conciliation Committee consisting of the president of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, and the chairman and vice-chairman of the First Committee. The Conciliation Committee was to continue the work of the group that had functioned during the preceding session and was empowered "to consult, in its discretion, with other powers which might be able to assist."

The new group met separately on a number of occasions with the Representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia. It also

consulted with the Delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Delegation, in expressing its views to the Conciliation Committee, insisted on the unqualified renunciation of Greece's claim to Northern Epirus and offered as a basis for settlement a set of proposals calling for international supervision of Greek elections, U.S.S.R. participation in an international commission to "control" Greece's northern frontiers, a general amnesty and cessation of military operations in Greece, and the withdrawal of all foreign military assistance and personnel from Greece. The Soviet position thus stood unchanged from that held prior to this renewed effort toward settlement by conciliation. The United States and the United Kingdom Delegations indicated their view that the Conciliation Committee should deal with the international aspects of the Greek problem, not with Greek internal affairs, and urged in particular the conclusion of suitable frontier agreements to prevent or adjust border incidents.

On the matter of the Greek-Albanian frontier, the Conciliation Committee suggested that both parties agree not to use force or the threat of force against each other's territorial integrity or for the purpose of changing the existing boundary. Greece was prepared to accept such an agreement. Albania maintained its insistence that the frontier must be recognized as final. Bulgaria's reply was inconclusive, predicated acceptance upon general agreement "between the interested Balkan countries." Yugoslavia indicated qualified approval of the suggested agreements but called attention to the possibility of seeking a Greek-Yugoslav adjustment through normal diplomatic channels.

General Assembly President Romulo, in reporting the results of the conciliation effort to the First Committee, noted the absence of agreement but stated that nevertheless "the discussions had served a useful purpose in clarifying and in some cases narrowing the points of difference between the Governments concerned . . ."

Subsequent Action. The First Committee then considered the findings of the Special Committee on the Balkans. Protracted efforts were made from the outset by eastern European states to divert attention from the central issues by repeated questioning of Greek military justice. The Committee was able to return to discussion of the UNSCOP reports after the president of the General Assembly had reported to the Committee that Greece had decided that all death sentences pronounced upon those guilty of crimes against the state would be referred to a special Court of Appeals.

The United States Delegation acting jointly with those of Australia, the United Kingdom, and China introduced in the First Committee two resolutions, one seeking early return of the Greek children,

the other calling for the continued existence of UNSCOW with its established functions, coupled with new recommendations to the states concerned.

The Four Power resolution on continuance of UNSCOW included certain new elements. By its terms the Assembly would recommend that no state furnish directly or indirectly either arms or war materials to Albania or Bulgaria until the proper United Nations agency had determined that the "unlawful assistance of these states to the Greek guerrillas has ceased." The resolution stated that UNSCOW would be justified in recommending urgently the convocation of a special session of the General Assembly if further foreign assistance to the guerrillas were to result in the launching of new armed action against Greece from adjacent territory. It recommended that all states harboring Greek guerrillas cooperate with the United Nations in verifying the "disarming and disposition" of Greek guerrillas who had entered their territories. Finally, it urged that steps be taken by the states harboring Greek nationals to permit the peaceful return to Greece of all those who wished to return and abide by their country's laws; alternatively, in the case of those Greeks whose return was not feasible, arrangements should be made for their resettlement elsewhere.

The Soviet Delegation introduced a resolution embodying the same points it had submitted earlier during the conciliation effort. The great majority of the members upheld the findings and recommendations of UNSCOW, but the Delegations of the Soviet Union and other Cominform states made every effort to discredit the Special Committee and its methods of work, and the Soviet resolution called for its dissolution.

The First Committee provided a hearing for the Representatives of Albania and Bulgaria who denied the validity of UNSCOW's findings and otherwise echoed Soviet arguments against Greece and the western world as a whole. The Committee then voted on the Four Power resolution and the Soviet resolution. The former was approved by a vote of 38 to 6, with 2 abstentions. The Soviet draft was defeated by substantial majorities in separate paragraph-by-paragraph votes.

On the related question at issue, a report from the International Red Cross organizations showed that some progress had been made in preliminary negotiations with the eastern European countries harboring Greek children, though as yet no children had been repatriated. All delegations who spoke on this matter in the First Committee, including those of the eastern European countries, indicated continued support for the 1948 Assembly resolution regarding the return of the children. The First Committee thus was able unanimously to adopt a revised Four Power resolution on this subject. The resolution thanked the Red Cross agencies for their efforts to date, noted that no

children had yet been repatriated, and urged all states concerned to cooperate with the Red Cross groups and the Secretary-General to insure the early return of the children to their homes.

On November 18 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the Four Power resolution by a vote of 50 to 6, with 2 abstentions. The Soviet draft which had already failed to obtain support in the stage of Committee debate was reintroduced but was decisively rejected by the Assembly. The Assembly adopted unanimously on the same day the resolution urging accelerated efforts to bring about the return of Greek children.

2. CHINA

A grave complaint was presented by China in the autumn of 1949 against the Soviet Union for violations of both the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 1945¹ and the Charter of the United Nations. The complaint was considered by the General Assembly. The first of the two resolutions adopted laid down certain essential standards of conduct to which all nations are called upon to adhere in their relations with China in the interest of reaching stability of international relations in the Far East. The other provided for further consideration by the Interim Committee not only of the Chinese charges but of any violations of these standards of conduct in the future.

The general charge made by the Representative of China was that the political independence and territorial integrity of China and the peace in the Far East had been threatened by Soviet violations of the 1945 treaty and of the United Nations Charter. Specifically it was charged that, in contravention of the treaty, the Soviet Union had thwarted all efforts by the Chinese Government to reestablish its authority in Manchuria and had aided the Communist regime in taking over areas evacuated by the Soviet army and supplying that regime with arms and ammunition, and that the Soviet Union is seeking both economic and political domination of Manchuria. The Chinese Representative further charged that the independence of China had been jeopardized through Soviet intervention in Chinese internal affairs by rendering assistance toward violent overthrow of the recognized government and that the integrity of China had been infringed by the establishment of special regimes under Soviet control not only in Manchuria but in the northern provinces of China as well. He submitted a draft resolution proposing that the Assembly make a finding sustaining these charges, determine that the Soviet Union

¹ See *Department of State Bulletin*, Sept. 2, 1945, p. 333.

has violated the treaty and the Charter, and call upon all members to desist from giving military and economic aid to the Chinese Communists and to refrain from granting diplomatic recognition to any Chinese Communist regime.

At the outset the Delegate from the Soviet Union sought to prevent any consideration of this problem by the General Assembly by opposing its inclusion on the agenda, and asserting that the Chinese Delegation had lost the right to represent the Chinese people. When this effort failed, the Soviet Delegation announced its refusal to participate in any consideration of the problem or to take into account any decision which might be made at the request of the Chinese Delegate. The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Polish, and Czechoslovak Representatives took the same position. This refusal of one of the parties to the dispute to answer charges made against it or to take part in the discussion was sharply criticized by the United States Delegate and by other delegates as well.

In the course of the consideration of this problem in the General Assembly, it became increasingly clear that a large number of delegations, though sympathetic with the case presented by the Chinese Delegate, felt that the complexity of the legal and factual issues involved made it impossible for the Assembly to make a specific finding of facts regarding the charges. Many were reluctant, in view of the rapidity of developments in the Far East, to commit themselves to decisions which would restrict their future freedom of action regarding the relations between their respective countries and China. Furthermore, some delegations felt that the United Nations would have been in a better position to have taken effective action on the specific charges brought by the Chinese if the Chinese Government had not waited so long to bring the matter before it.

The United States Representative, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, voiced the deep concern of the United States Government at the evidence of continuation by the Soviet Union of prewar Czarist and Soviet Russian imperialistic policies in the Far East—policies characterized by efforts to obtain special monopolistic privileges, to encroach on Chinese sovereignty, and to promote dismemberment of China. He indicated the view of the United States that there is serious question whether certain provisions of the 1945 Yalta agreement between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. regarding China have been carried out properly and in good faith by the Soviet Union.

In outlining the views of the United States, Ambassador Jessup urged that the Assembly use its great fund of moral power to translate the principles of the United Nations Charter into specific standards of conduct to which all nations should be called upon to adhere

in their international relations with China. He pointed out that some of the specific allegations of past misconduct involved a number of complex legal and factual issues which could be effectively disposed of only through reference by the parties to some international tribunal such as the International Court of Justice. He agreed with the view of many other delegates that it was not incumbent upon the Assembly to attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of China or to deal with the justice or injustice of the civil strife in China. It was for the people of China themselves to decide their future institutions and policies and to determine whether the Chinese Communist movement is to be a tool whereby the Soviet Union can attain domination of China. But he made clear that the United States felt strongly that it was the duty of the General Assembly to work for the reestablishment of those international conditions under which the Chinese people would be able to determine for themselves without outside interference the type of government and the type of economic and social institutions they desire.

With this objective the United States joined with the Delegations of Australia, Mexico, Pakistan, and the Philippines in submitting a resolution dealing with the international aspects of the problem as an integral whole. The resolution called for respect for China's political independence, noninterference in her internal affairs, fulfillment of existing treaties, and a ban on seeking spheres of influence or establishing puppet regimes in China.

This resolution represented, from the standpoint of the United States, a continuation of the historic and consistent policy of the United States in supporting China's efforts to maintain its independence and integrity against foreign imperialism—increasingly in modern times the imperialistic encroachments of Russia and Japan. Although it was recognized that this resolution could not be expected to cure all the difficulties currently perplexing the majority of the members in regard to the situation, it was nevertheless put forward as a fundamental contribution toward the attainment of international stability in the Far East. It received the support of the large majority of the members of the United Nations.

The Representative of China recognized that the length and complexity of the case made it difficult for the members of the Assembly to pronounce a definitive judgment upon his charges. He therefore indicated willingness to have the matter referred to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly for further observation and study. A resolution to this effect was proposed by the Delegations of Cuba, Ecuador, and Peru and, as subsequently amended, received the support of the United States.

As its principal action, therefore, the General Assembly approved by the overwhelming majority of 45 votes, the resolution cosponsored by the United States and entitled "The Promotion of Stability of International Relations in the Far East." The only negative votes, as expected in the circumstances, were cast by the Soviet Union and four other eastern European states. There were some absences on the day of the voting, but no abstentions. The resolution specifically called upon all states to respect the political independence of China and to be guided by the principles of the United Nations in their relations with China; to respect the right of the people of China now and in the future to choose freely their political institutions and to maintain a government independent of foreign control; to respect existing treaties relating to China; and to refrain from seeking to acquire spheres of influence or to create foreign controlled regimes within the territory of China and from seeking to obtain special rights or privileges within the territory of China.

When the additional resolution referring the Chinese complaint to the Interim Committee came before the Assembly, the United States expressed its concern lest the Interim Committee should be confined to a consideration of Chinese charges of past misconduct and not be authorized to concern itself with violations, now and in the future, of the standards of international conduct embodied in the principal resolution. These broader terms of reference were incorporated into the additional resolution. This resolution accordingly referred to the Interim Committee for continuous examination, in the light of the above principal resolution, both the original complaint brought by China to the Assembly and any charges of future violation of the principles contained in the principal resolution. The Interim Committee was directed to report to the next session of the General Assembly with its recommendations or, if necessary, to bring the matter to the attention of the Secretary-General with a view to its consideration by the Security Council. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 32 to 5, with 17 abstentions.

The Representative of China supported both these resolutions and indicated that, in the light of their adoption, he would not request a vote on his original proposal, since he understood that that proposal was, by the Assembly's action, placed before the Interim Committee for its future consideration.

In the closing debate, Ambassador Jessup pointed out that from the time of the enunciation by the United States of the Open-Door policy in 1900, the expression of world conscience in declarations in which many states joined together in common views has proved its pragmatic utility. Such declarations have played an influential role in the history of China despite the fact that from time to time aggressors have

fouted them. He emphasized the importance which the United States attached to the Assembly's action, particularly to the adoption of the resolution of the Promotion of Stability of International Relations in the Far East, and that the the United States "pledges itself to abide by that code of conduct in the Far East and it expects all other nations to do likewise."

G. Efforts to Solve General Security Problems

I. INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

In 1949 there were two important developments in the United Nations negotiations for international control of atomic energy.

The first was the shifting of the focus of discussion from the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to the six permanent members of that Commission. These six—Canada, China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States—are the sponsoring powers which in 1946 initiated the efforts of the United Nations in this field.

The second was a shift in emphasis. Whereas the task in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has been the development of specific proposals for effective international control of atomic energy in order to insure effective prohibition of atomic weapons, the emphasis in the forum of the sponsoring powers has been on determining whether a basis for agreement on the above could be found.

The account of these developments begins with the General Assembly resolution of November 4, 1948. In accord with this resolution, the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission convened on February 18, 1949, to "resume its sessions, to survey its program of work, and to proceed with the further study of such of the subjects remaining in that program of work as it considers to be practicable and useful." In order to facilitate its task, the Commission requested the United Nations Secretariat to prepare a document containing the plan of control and prohibition approved by the General Assembly.

Meanwhile, the U.S.S.R. submitted a proposal for drafting two conventions, one on prohibition and the other on control, based on the Soviet proposals of June 1946 and June 1947, both to go into effect simultaneously, although this proposal had previously been rejected by the General Assembly. The second of these conventions, on control, immediately raised the question of what system of control was envisaged. When it became clear once again that the Soviet Union insisted that its ideas on control must form the basis for this conven-

tion, the Atomic Energy Commission on June 29, 1949, adopted a resolution submitted by China which concluded that "no useful purpose can be served by further discussion in the Atomic Energy Commission of those proposals which have already been considered and rejected by the appropriate organs of the United Nations."

On the same day the Commission approved a further resolution, submitted by the United States as an amendment to a Cuban-Argentine resolution, which found that the Soviet Union continued to insist upon conditions, such as national ownership and possession of nuclear explosives and facilities for making or using dangerous quantities of such explosives, which would make any control system ineffective. The Commission concluded that the impasse, as had already been analyzed last year in its third report, still confronted it; that it was unable to overcome this impasse; that its discussions were hardening existing differences; and that no useful purpose could be served by continuing these discussions until such time as the sponsoring powers had found a basis for agreement.

On September 16 the Security Council directed the Secretary-General of the United Nations to transmit the above resolutions to the General Assembly and to the member nations of the United Nations.

Consultations Among the Sponsoring Powers. Meanwhile, as requested by the General Assembly resolution of November 4, 1948, the six sponsoring powers met on August 9, 1949, at Lake Success, ". . . in order to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes and for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons, and to report to the General Assembly the results of their consultations not later than its next regular session;"

On October 24, 1949, the sponsoring powers as a whole submitted an Interim Report to the General Assembly. This consisted of the summary records of the meetings it had held up to that date. At the same time, in a separate paper, the Representatives of Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States submitted a statement on the Interim Report which analyzed the results of the discussions. This statement presented the difficulties encountered and the situation reached in the following words:

It appears from these consultations that, as in the past, the Soviet Union will not negotiate except on the basis of the principles set forth in the Soviet proposals of June 1947.

The essential points in the Soviet control proposals, and the reasons for their rejection by the other five Powers, as brought out in the consultations, are as follows:

The Soviet Union proposes that nations should continue to own explosive atomic materials.

The other five Powers feel that under such conditions there would be no effective protection against the sudden use of these materials as atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union proposes that nations continue, as at present, to own, operate and manage facilities making or using dangerous quantities of such materials.

The other Five powers believe that, under such conditions, it would be impossible to detect or prevent the diversion of such materials for use in atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union proposes a system of control depending on periodic inspection of facilities the existence of which the national government concerned reports to the international agency, supplemented by special investigations on suspicion of treaty violations.

The other five Powers believe that periodic inspection would not prevent the diversion of dangerous materials and that the special investigations envisaged would be wholly insufficient to prevent clandestine activities.

Other points of difference, including Soviet insistence on the right to veto the recommendations of the International Control Agency, have not yet been discussed in the consultations.

These consultations have not yet succeeded in bringing about agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the other five Powers, but they have served to clarify some of the points on which there is disagreement.

It is apparent that there is a fundamental difference not only on methods but also on aims. All of the Sponsoring Powers other than the U.S.S.R. put world security first and are prepared to accept innovations in traditional concepts of international cooperation, national sovereignty and economic organization where these are necessary for security. The Government of the U.S.S.R. puts its sovereignty first and is unwilling to accept measures which may impinge upon or interfere with its rigid exercise of unimpeded state sovereignty.

If this fundamental difference could be overcome, other differences which have hitherto appeared unsurmountable could be seen in true perspective, and reasonable ground might be found for their adjustment.

Debate in the General Assembly. In his opening address to the General Assembly on September 20, 1949, Secretary of State Acheson pledged continuing efforts on the part of the United States toward the establishment of an effective system of international control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons. He reaffirmed support for the plan of the United Nations and also indicated the readiness of the United States to consider any proposal or suggestion that might lead to a better or more workable plan. The Secretary expressed the view that the forum of the sponsoring powers offered the best prospect of determining whether any basis for agreement could be found.

The announcement by President Harry S. Truman on September 23, 1949, that evidence had been received of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union added new emphasis, if indeed such emphasis were required, on the need for truly effective international control of atomic energy.

In the sponsoring powers consultations, the Representative of the Soviet Union was asked whether his government had acquired any new evidence from their experience in this field to support his government's contention that periodic inspection of declared facilities would be sufficient to assure effective control. No answer has yet been received to this question.

In the General Assembly, the Representative of the U.S.S.R. made a number of claims regarding the use to which atomic energy was being put in his country. In particular, his claim that atomic energy was being used to level mountains presented the basic issue confronting any system of control very clearly. Mr. Hickerson, speaking for the United States in the General Assembly on November 23, 1949, commented on this point of Soviet emphasis as follows:

He [the Representative of the U.S.S.R.] did not need to add that if atomic explosives are used by the Soviet Union to blow up mountains these same explosives could be used at any time to destroy cities. He was simply confirming the conclusion previously arrived at by the Atomic Energy Commission, and by this Assembly, that such explosive materials are inescapably and interchangeably useful for military purposes and cannot safely be allowed to remain in national hands.

If such materials, and facilities for making and using them in dangerous quantities, were left in national hands, no system of control and inspection would be stronger than the good faith and intentions of the nations which possessed such materials and facilities.

On the other hand, in its 3 years of work, the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission has developed a plan of control which was strongly approved by the General Assembly on November 4, 1948. As the President of the United States stated at the laying of the cornerstone of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations, on October 24, 1949:

This is a good plan. It is a plan that can work, and more important, it is a plan that can be effective in accomplishing its purpose. It is the only plan so far developed that would meet the technical requirements of control, that would make the prohibition of atomic weapons effective, and at the same time promote the peaceful development of atomic energy on a cooperative basis.

We support this plan and will continue to support it unless and until a better and more effective plan is put forward. To assure that atomic energy will be devoted to man's welfare and not to his

destruction is a continuing challenge to all nations and all peoples. The United States is now, and will remain, ready to do its full share in meeting this challenge.

During the debate in the General Assembly, the United States and every other sponsoring power except the Soviet Union reaffirmed support for the United Nations plan of control and prohibition and indicated they would continue to support this plan unless and until a plan that was equally effective and workable could be devised.

A large majority of the General Assembly took a similar stand and this attitude found expression in a resolution originally put forward by France and Canada. This resolution provided for the continuation of the consultations among the sponsoring powers and requested them to explore all possible avenues and examine all concrete suggestions with a view to determining whether they might lead to agreement. Forty-nine nations voted in favor of this resolution indicating an ever-increasing majority support; only five voted against it.

The position of the United States on future work in the United Nations on international control has been expressed in the following quotation from Mr. Hickerson's speech of November 23, 1949, in the General Assembly.

The plan proposed by the Atomic Energy Commission and approved by the General Assembly in November 1948 contains the provisions essential to control and prohibition. It also makes adequate provision for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It provides for a cooperative international endeavor in which all nations would participate and from which all would benefit on fair and equitable terms. It provides for free and unrestricted exchange of information. It provides for the encouragement of private and national research in the field of atomic energy as well as for cooperative research activities by the international agency itself.

The United States supports this plan and will continue to support it unless and until proposals are made which clearly would provide equal or more effective and workable means of control and prohibition.

The resolution sponsored by France and Canada and recommended by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee recognizes the necessity for such effective controls and for such a cooperative effort. My Government and 47 other nations in the *Ad Hoc* Committee have indicated their readiness to join in the cooperative development of atomic energy to ensure that this force be used for peaceful purposes only and to ensure the effective prohibition of atomic weapons by means of effective international control.

This resolution realistically recognizes the stalemate reached in the Atomic Energy Commission. It therefore calls for the most effective action which the General Assembly could take at this time. The resolution requests the permanent members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to continue their consultations,

to explore all possible avenues and examine all concrete proposals with a view to determining whether agreement can be reached on this problem. This forum is composed of those powers whose agreement is essential to any effective and satisfactory solution. We, for our part, will be prepared to examine all suggestions and proposals that have been made in the General Assembly and elsewhere in an earnest search for agreement upon effective prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful uses only.

We believe that this is a constructive step. It follows the course laid down by a large and increasing majority of the General Assembly each time this matter has come before them for decision. No new arguments have been advanced by the U.S.S.R. which country has been holding out against effective control. As the representative of the United Kingdom said a few days ago, but for the obstructive attitude of the Soviet Union, we would long ago have reached a safe solution of the atomic energy problem and there might well be not a single atomic weapon in existence today. That is the kind of security which people everywhere want. But the Soviet Union says, "No; we alone are in step. Forty-eight other nations are out of step."

But we all know this is not true. Then what do we do? We continue our earnest efforts to persuade the Soviet Union to drop its reactionary attitude and to join with the overwhelming majority of the United Nations in the only satisfactory solution of this grave problem which human ingenuity has thus far devised.

We do not contend that human ingenuity has been exhausted. We, for our part, in all humility, will join every effort to find out whether there are other solutions which might be equally or more effective.

Can a single country indefinitely frustrate the will of the overwhelming majority of the members of the United Nations in a matter so vital to world security? I can only say . . . that the whole history and tradition of our admittedly young organization point to the opposite conclusion.

2. REGULATION AND REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

During this year the continued efforts of the United Nations toward the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments were concentrated on developing proposals for an international census and verification of the conventional armaments and armed forces of the member states of the United Nations. Such census and verification of the facts are obviously first and fundamental steps toward regulation and reduction. The effort in this direction was made in response to the resolution adopted by the Third Session of the General Assembly on

November 19, 1948.¹ Due to the absence of international confidence, progress was necessarily limited. Nevertheless, the development of this step is basic in the continuing efforts under way.

The first phase of the work this year was in the Commission for Conventional Armaments (CCA). On May 26 and July 12, 1949, the Representative of France introduced in the Commission working papers aimed at satisfying the recommendations of the General Assembly. These papers with minor amendments were adopted on August 1, 1949. The United States gave strong support to the proposals contained in them. The Soviet Union and the Ukrainian S.S.R. objected that the collection of information would serve no useful purpose unless it followed prior agreements on the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces and on the prohibition of atomic weapons. Though by definition and under the General Assembly resolution of November 19, 1948, the Commission was to consider conventional armaments and armed forces, the U.S.S.R. further objected that the proposed census was deficient in not including atomic weapons, a position Egypt supported.

The proposals as adopted by the Commission made provision for a census of conventional armaments and armed forces and verification of the reported facts. To carry out the responsibilities involved in so great an undertaking the proposals called for the establishment of an organ of control which would be subordinate to the Security Council and consist of a central control authority, an inspectorate, and a secretariat to carry out the proposals. They also provided that they would be put into effect only if accepted by "not less than two-thirds of the Member States including all the permanent members of the Security Council."

In regard to the nature and scope of the census, the proposals named the categories of armed forces to which it was to apply; specified the period to be covered (with provision for indication of strength on a date to be designated by the control authority, daily average effectives for the preceding year, and total effectives released during the preceding year); and envisaged that data would be submitted regarding quantities of conventional armaments within specified categories, classified according to whether they were ground, naval, or air force weapons. Provision was made for standard reporting forms and for simultaneous submission of census reports by all participating states.

With respect to verification, the proposals made several recommendations. These in broad outline were that each state should grant

¹ *United States Participation in the United Nations; Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1948* (Department of State publication 3437), pp. 185-186.

to the representatives of the control organ the greatest possible freedom of movement and access in its territory to data fully depicting the level of conventional armaments and effectives of that state; that the control organ should be empowered to direct the investigations by means of international verification teams which would perform all inspections, on-the-spot checking, and physical counting needed to verify adequately the information reported; that for the purpose of spot checks the control organ should be empowered to request more specific information from states when deemed necessary; that authority should be provided for special supplementary inspections to resolve such doubts as might be expressed by one or several governments or by the control organ itself; and that activities to be verified should be specified in the international agreement to be concluded with respect to this subject. To facilitate verification the proposals provided that nations should make available a list of component parts of all ground, naval, and air forces, classified by designation and by numbers of personnel. The location of units selected for on-the-spot checking would be furnished the central control authority on its request. The verification would be based not only upon inspection of relative records but also checks of matériel in service and in reserve and wherever stored.

At the August 1 meeting, the Commission likewise agreed to transmit to the Security Council its Second Progress Report. This document covered the period from July 16, 1947, to August 12, 1948, and dealt with the Commission's findings on items 1 and 2 of its plan of work. Item 1 relates to the definition of conventional armaments as contrasted with atomic weapons and other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction. Item 2 relates to principles which should govern the formulation of practical proposals for the establishment of a system for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. The transmission of this progress report to the Security Council a year earlier, in September 1948, had been held up by the Soviet Union.

Action in the Security Council. The second phase of this year's work dates from October 11, 1949, when the Security Council began its deliberations on the above items. On that day the Representative of the United States introduced a draft resolution endorsing the Commission's Second Progress Report and directing the Secretary-General to transmit the report to the General Assembly for its information. This draft resolution failed to receive the approval of the Security Council by reason of the negative vote of the Soviet Union. The vote was 9 in favor to 2 opposed (the U.S.S.R., the vote of which was a veto, and the Ukrainian S.S.R.). A resolution of procedural nature introduced immediately thereafter by the Representative of the United

Kingdom, simply transmitting the progress report to the General Assembly for its information, was adopted by the Security Council by a vote of 9 in favor, with the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian S.S.R. abstaining.

Security Council consideration of the census and verification proposals of the Commission for Conventional Armaments commenced on October 14, 1949. The resolution for consideration was presented by the Representative of France; it endorsed the Commission's proposals "as constituting the necessary basis for the implementation" of the General Assembly's resolution of November 19, 1948, and called upon the Secretary-General to transmit the proposals and the pertinent records to the General Assembly.

The Soviet Union's countermove to this proposal was the introduction of a short draft resolution which read: "The Security Council recognizes as essential the submission by states both of information on armed forces and conventional armaments and of information on atomic weapons."

In view of fundamental objections to this resolution, in that it failed to provide for the verification of information which should be submitted and in that it attempted to confuse the problem of regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces with the problem of control of atomic energy, the Representative of France at once introduced a draft resolution which set proper emphasis on these problems:

The Security Council recognizes as an essential part of any effective system of disarmament the submission by states of full information on conventional armaments and armed forces together with adequate procedures for complete verification of such information.

As regards the principle of submitting information on atomic weapons, the Council recalls that the submission of full information on atomic material and facilities, including atomic weapons, is an integral part of the United Nations plans of control and prohibition approved by the General Assembly on November 4, 1948, to ensure the use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes and to ensure effective prohibition of atomic weapons.

The Commission's proposals received nine affirmative votes in the Security Council. These included the vote of the United States, which had vigorously supported the proposals throughout. However, the proposals failed of adoption by reason of the negative vote—a veto—of the Soviet Union; the Ukrainian S.S.R. also voted in the negative.

The second French resolution, introduced as a counter resolution to that of the Soviet Union, was also vetoed. The vote was 8 in favor, 2 opposed (the Soviet Union, and the Ukrainian S.S.R.), and 1 abstention (Argentina). The Soviet Union's resolution failed of adop-

tion by a vote of 3 in favor (the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian S.S.R., and Egypt), 1 against (China), and 7 abstentions. Thereupon the French Representative introduced a draft resolution which requested, as a procedural matter, that the Secretary-General transmit to the General Assembly the Commission's census and verification proposals together with the records of the discussions on the question both in the Security Council and in the Commission. With the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian S.S.R. abstaining, the resolution was adopted unanimously by the other nine members of the Security Council.

Action in the General Assembly. The General Assembly's consideration of these problems came only after receipt of the papers transmitted by the Council. However, the position of the United States had been carefully explained to the General Assembly by the Secretary of State in his opening statement to the General Assembly on September 21, 1949:

On the subject of regulation and reduction of conventional armaments, we are all well aware that there is no immediate prospect of universal agreement. The work done by the Commission on Conventional Armaments has helped to provide a useful start toward the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces when that becomes practicable. The Commission should continue to formulate such plans in order that they may be available whenever the opportunity to utilize them arises.

My government can be depended upon to contribute fully to the creation of the necessary conditions of confidence and, with their attainment, to play its full role in the regulation and reduction, under effective safeguards, of armaments and armed forces.

The debate on the matter in the closing weeks of the General Assembly session closely paralleled that in the Security Council. The proposal for the international census and verification of conventional armaments and armed forces received overwhelming endorsement in the plenary session of December 5 by a vote of 44 to 5, with 5 abstentions. The Soviet Union and the other members of the Soviet bloc again opposed these proposals, both in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and in the plenary session. The Soviet resolution was reintroduced in both and rejected. The United States position as taken on the Soviet resolution in the General Assembly was as follows:

This is the same proposal which has already been decisively defeated in both the Security Council and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Let no one be deceived as to why it has nevertheless been introduced here for a third time. It is just one more attempt to generate a smoke-screen of confusion to cover the retreat of the Soviet Union from participation in the plan of the United Nations for the control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons. They refuse to agree to a census of armaments and armed forces on the professed ground that the census fails to include a count of atomic weapons. In almost the same breath they refuse to join

in a cooperative venture under the United Nations plan which would render any count of atomic weapons academic, because it would render the weapons themselves completely non-existent.

Is it not strange that the very nations which have been attacked so vehemently as warmongering and aggressor nations are, without exception, willing to accept these proposals, with all they entail in the way of inspection and checking, whereas the only nations which have persistently refused to accept them are the accusing nations which profess none but the most peaceful intentions.

As a result of its resolution of December 5, 1949, the General Assembly has recommended to the Security Council that the Commission for Conventional Armaments continue its studies of the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in accordance with the Commission's Plan of Work, the next two items of which read:

3. Consideration of practical and effective safeguards by means of an international system of control operating through special organs (and by other means) to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

4. Formulate practical proposals for the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces.

The United States has made clear its intention, despite the obstacles reflected by the developments described above, to continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to develop a workable system for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces for implementation when conditions permit.

H. Steps to Adjust Controversial Political Problems

I. SPAIN

Certain questions relating to Spain were considered by the General Assembly in the spring of 1949. The subject was placed on the agenda by Poland. None of the resolutions submitted in the debates received the necessary two-thirds majority support, and the subject did not arise again in the autumn session.

The record on this matter may be summarized briefly. Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru jointly sponsored a resolution, submitted on May 4, 1949, the effect of which would have been to allow United Nations member states full freedom of action as regards their diplomatic relations with Spain. Although this proposal did not provide explicitly for the repeal of the Assembly resolution of December 12,

1946, which recommended that Spain be debarred from membership in international agencies related to the United Nations and that member states recall their Ambassadors and Ministers from Madrid, it would have resulted in the virtual rescission of the latter part of that resolution.

On the day following, Poland submitted a draft resolution recommending that all United Nations members cease to export arms and ammunition and all warlike and strategic materials to Spain and refrain from entering into any agreements of whatever character with the present Government of Spain. The preamble of this Polish resolution alleged that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom and several other countries had strengthened their political and economic relations with the present Spanish Government and claimed that the alleged action had prevented the establishment of "a democratic regime" in that country.

The resolution proposed by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru was adopted by the Political and Security Committee by 25 votes in favor and 16 against, with 16 abstentions including the United States.¹ Each of the paragraphs of the Polish draft resolution was rejected by roll call vote, and no vote was therefore taken on the resolution as a whole in the Committee. The United States voted against each paragraph of this proposal.

In the plenary session of the General Assembly the resolution adopted by the Committee failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The vote was 25 in favor, 15 against, with 16 abstentions (including again the United States). The Polish resolution, which despite its defeat in committee was reintroduced in the plenary session, was rejected by only 6 votes in favor, 40 against, and 7 abstentions.

2. TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The matter of the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa arose for the third time during the year. It had been considered by the United Nations twice before, as described in earlier reports. It was placed again on the agenda of the Third Session of the General Assembly in 1948 at the request of the Government of India, but consideration was not undertaken until the second part of the session held in the spring. By the resolution then adopted, the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa and the Government of Pakistan were invited to discuss the problem at a round-table conference, taking into consideration the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.

¹ See statement by Secretary Acheson in *Department of State Bulletin*, May 22, 1949, pp. 660-661.

The Government of India contended that the persons of Indian nationality or descent in South Africa suffer discrimination and deprivation of fundamental rights and that the Government of the Union of South Africa had unilaterally repudiated certain agreements previously made with the Indian Government in regard to the treatment of these people, thus giving rise to a situation which impaired the friendly relations between the two countries.

The Government of South Africa maintained that its legislative and other measures of segregation were not repressive but precautionary, and that this matter lay within its domestic jurisdiction; furthermore, it denied that it had abrogated any binding international agreement or violated any Charter obligation.

During debate on the question in the First Committee of the General Assembly, South Africa questioned the competence of the United Nations to consider the matter on the grounds that it was within that state's domestic jurisdiction and moved that the Committee should discuss the matter of its competence before discussing the substance of the problem. By 33 votes opposed, to 7 in favor, this motion failed to pass. Following this South Africa presented a draft resolution to the effect that under article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter the question did not fall within the competence of the General Assembly. This was also rejected, by 33 against and 5 in favor.

The resolution submitted by India was then considered. It asserted that the treatment of persons of Indian and Pakistani origin in the Union of South Africa was not in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the resolutions of the Assembly, and the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the Governments of India and South Africa. The resolution recommended that a commission be appointed to study the situation and to report to the next regular session of the General Assembly. The commission would be composed of representatives of three members of the United Nations, one nominated by India, one by the Union of South Africa, and one chosen by these two representatives.

In an effort to seek a common ground between the parties, France and Mexico jointly submitted a resolution whereby the General Assembly would invite the Governments of India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa to undertake round-table discussions of the problem.

Both resolutions were adopted by the Committee, the Indian resolution by a vote of 21 to 17, with 12 abstentions, and the French-Mexican resolution by a vote of 39 to 2, with 9 abstentions.

When the two Committee resolutions were considered by the General Assembly in plenary session, the Representative of India announced that in light of the vote in Committee it was unlikely that his reso-

lution would get the necessary two-thirds vote, and that therefore his Delegation would not press for a decision if a large majority of the membership thought that the French-Mexican text would have a greater chance of solving the situation. Accordingly, the President of the Assembly put only the resolution calling for a round-table conference to the vote, and it was adopted by 47 in favor to 1 against, with 10 abstentions. The matter did not arise in the autumn session of the Assembly.

At the close of the year the South African Government announced that the Governments of India, Pakistan, and South Africa would hold preliminary talks in Capetown on February 6, 1950, to decide whether a round-table conference will be held on the question of Indians in South Africa and, if so, to consider the agenda for such a conference.

I. Strengthening of Political and Security Organization

I. UNITED NATIONS FIELD SERVICE AND PANEL OF FIELD OBSERVERS

The problem of giving more adequate protection and efficient administration to missions performing functions of pacific settlement in troubled areas was acted upon this year. It had been under consideration since September 1948. At that time the Secretary-General in a special report to the General Assembly suggested the establishment of a United Nations guard. Considering the wide use of United Nations commissions in the field, and the tragic fate of the Mediator in Palestine and other instances of injury to personnel, the need for a thorough study of the problem looking toward action to improve the services and protection provided for United Nations missions was evident. The first action on the problem was taken by the General Assembly at the Second Part of its Third Session in 1948 when the matter was referred to a Special Committee for consideration and report to the General Assembly. The United States actively favored this step and was represented on this Committee.

The Special Committee, holding 10 meetings through the summer of 1949, discussed the various aspects of the revised proposal submitted by the Secretary-General. This suggested the establishment within the Secretariat of two separate units: first, a 300-man field service to perform protective and administrative tasks, and second, a Panel

of Field Observers to carry out supervisory and observation duties with field missions. With some modifications the Committee approved the Secretary-General's proposal and submitted to the General Assembly two draft resolutions. The first concluded that the field service would contribute to the more efficient operation of United Nations missions. It considered that the Secretary-General had authority to establish the United Nations Field Service, subject to budgetary limitations and normal administrative controls of the General Assembly, and took note of his intention to establish the proposed unit as modified by the observations contained in the report of the Special Committee. The second resolution noted the General Assembly's desire to facilitate the work of the United Nations in the pacific settlement of disputes under the Charter and expressed the opinion that the proposed United Nations Panel of Field Observers would contribute to that end. It requested the Secretary-General to establish and maintain a list of persons qualified to assist United Nations missions in the functions of observation and supervision, such persons to be called to service in response to a specific resolution by a competent organ of the United Nations. It stated that the list should be based upon the principle of equitable geographic distribution and that the suggestions developed by the Special Committee should be followed in creating the list and maintaining it.

The United States had strongly supported the proposal and draft resolution in the Committee, and it did so again in the General Assembly when the matter was taken up in the autumn. The United States Representative pointed out that implementation of the plan by the Secretary-General would improve the performance of the critically important pacific settlement functions carried out by United Nations field commissions. Further, he among many other speakers made it clear in answer to Soviet criticisms that neither of the two new units would carry out military operations and that both the personnel of the Field Service and the Panel of Field Observers would be entirely distinct from the armed forces contemplated to be placed at the disposal of the Security Council by article 43 of the Charter.

The Field Service received solid support from virtually all delegations except those of the Soviet group, and was approved by the General Assembly by a vote of 46 in favor to 5 against, with 3 abstentions. Although several representatives questioned whether the Secretary-General's proposal for a Panel of Field Observers was practicable, this proposal was also adopted, by a vote of 38 in favor to 6 against, with 11 abstentions.

The Secretary-General has announced that he will proceed to establish the nucleus of the new Field Service and to make the necessary plans for the procedure under which certain qualified individuals

drawn from all the nations would be listed as members of the Panel of Field Observers. When these units have been established, they will perform essential functions in the widespread efforts of the United Nations to find solutions of international disputes by peaceful means.

2. PROVISION OF ARMED FORCES TO SECURITY COUNCIL

No action relating to the provision of armed forces, assistance, and facilities under article 43 of the Charter took place in any organ of the United Nations during the year 1949. However, the United States has continued its study of various suggestions for dealing with this problem, and in the Mutual Defense Act of 1949 the Congress reaffirmed "the policy of the United States to seek agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as contemplated in the Charter." Each agreement subsequently made with individual countries for furnishing assistance under this Act contains a similar statement.

According to article 43 of the Charter, member states are to place armed forces, assistance, and facilities at the disposal of the Security Council in order that the Council, according to the provisions of article 42, "may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." This is to be accomplished on the basis of a special agreement or agreements, thus far not negotiated. In accordance with Security Council instructions in February 1946, the Military Staff Committee studied the problem and submitted a report to the Security Council in April 1947. The report revealed important divergencies of views between the United States, China, France, and the United Kingdom on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other.¹ These divergencies have remained unreconciled.

3. MEMBERSHIP

From the very beginning of the United Nations, it was envisaged that all peace-loving states which accepted the obligations in the Charter and were able and willing to carry them out should be admitted to membership. This was set forth in article 4 of the Charter. There were thus certain tests for admission, but membership was "open" to all states which met these tests. The founding nations in general

¹ For a statement of the most important divergencies see *United States Participation in the United Nations; Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1947* (Department of State publication 3024), pp. 105-6.

hoped that every state not originally a member of the United Nations would qualify and that in due course membership in the United Nations would encompass the entire world so that the United Nations would be truly universal. The United States position has been the same: that the United Nations ought progressively—and as soon as possible—to become a universal organization. President Truman stated in his address at the ceremonies in which the cornerstone of the United Nations building in New York was laid this year that “We look forward to a continuing growth and evolution of the organization to meet the changing views of the world’s peoples. We hope that eventually every nation on earth will be a fully qualified and loyal member of this organization.”

The process of admission to membership involves recommendation by the Security Council and admission by the General Assembly. These processes have functioned adequately in the case of the General Assembly, but obstructive policies have brought them to an almost complete impasse in the Security Council. Only one nation—Israel—was admitted this year; the new applications that were submitted, and the earlier applications that were again reconsidered, were blocked. The continued impasse led this year to renewed search for paths by which universality of United Nations membership for all qualified states could be achieved.

New Applications. The state of Israel is the 59th member of the United Nations. Its admission was recommended by the Security Council on March 4, 1949, by a vote of 9 in favor, Egypt opposing, and the United Kingdom abstaining. During the session of the General Assembly, later in the spring, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by a vote of 33 to 11, with 13 abstentions, adopted a resolution to admit Israel, taking note of Israel’s declarations and explanations concerning the implementation of the Assembly resolutions of November 29, 1947, and December 11, 1948, relating to Palestine. The Assembly on May 11 approved this resolution.

The Republic of Korea submitted an application for membership on January 19, 1949. Although nine members of the Council voted favorably on this application on April 8, a recommendation for admission was frustrated by a Soviet veto. In the course of these developments the Secretary-General on February 10, 1949, circulated a telegram, received the preceding day, purporting to be an application for membership by the Soviet-controlled “Democratic People’s Republic of Korea” in North Korea.¹ By a vote of 8 to 2, with 1 abstention, the Council decided not to refer this application to its membership committee. Various members of the majority made clear that the

¹ See above, section on Korea, pp. 34-37.

so-called "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" did not qualify for membership; that its communication was not in the form required by the rules of procedure; and that in the light of the General Assembly's declaration on the Government of Korea—the second paragraph of its resolution on Korea December 12, 1948—it would not be proper to entertain the application even to the extent of referring it to a committee. This paragraph stated that the Government of the Republic of Korea, which is in the southern part of the state, was a lawful government and "is the only such Government in Korea."

An application presented by the Government of Nepal on February 13, 1949, was referred by the Security Council to its membership committee. That committee requested further information from Nepal concerning its status as an independent state. After a reply was received, the application was considered by the Security Council along with the earlier applications which the General Assembly had requested the Council to reconsider. Nine members of the Council supported admission of Nepal. The Soviet Representative, however, indicated that his Government was willing to include Nepal in a list of all applicants (except Korea) only if this list were accepted in its entirety. When the list was not accepted by the other members, as indicated below, the Soviet Union by its veto prevented Nepal's admission.

Earlier Applications. The deadlock in the Security Council which has already kept many applicant states from becoming members of the United Nations is still unbroken. It will be recalled that the General Assembly adopted late last year a series of resolutions requesting that the Security Council reconsider the applications of Ceylon, Jordan, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Austria, and Finland (all of which had been excluded through Soviet vetoes); and a further resolution requesting, in general terms, reconsideration of all pending applications. The latter resolution thus provided for the reconsideration of the applications of five Soviet candidates—Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

The Security Council on June 16, 1949, began reconsideration of these 12 applications. The Representative of Argentina submitted seven resolutions recommending the admission respectively of Ceylon, Austria, Ireland, Finland, Italy, Jordan, and Portugal. The Soviet Representative then submitted a resolution recommending the admission of all the applicants except the Republic of Korea, thus including not only the five Soviet candidates but also the same seven applicant states which the Soviet Union by use of its veto had previously excluded from membership. He made clear, however, that unless this list were accepted in its entirety, he would maintain his objections to the applicants which he had previously opposed.

In view of this condition imposed by the Soviet Union and of the attitude of other members that the applicants pressed by the Soviet Union failed to meet the conditions for membership set forth in the Charter, it appeared that no applicant could be admitted and the Council postponed action on all of the draft resolutions while the situation was once more examined. Almost daily meetings were then held in the period September 7 to September 15. The Council on September 13 voted on the Argentine resolutions concerning Jordan, Portugal, Italy, Finland, Ireland, Austria, and Ceylon. Each received 9 votes but in each case approval was prevented by the veto of the Soviet Union. After a long procedural debate on the propriety of voting upon the Soviet resolution, which would involve action upon many applications by a single vote on the whole group, the decision was made on September 15 to consider the remaining applicants individually. Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic received 2 favorable votes each (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.); and Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, 3 favorable votes each (Egypt, U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.). Accordingly these five were rejected.

Upon the insistence of the U.S.S.R. the Council next took a vote on the omnibus Soviet resolution. Since only 2 members (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.) voted favorably, 4 (Canada, Norway, France, and the United Kingdom) voted adversely, and 4 (China, Cuba, Egypt, and the United States) abstained, the resolution was rejected. Argentina refused to participate in this vote.

General Assembly Consideration. A number of resolutions on the membership question were considered in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee during the ensuing session of the General Assembly. Australia submitted nine separate resolutions concerning, respectively, Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Portugal, and Nepal. Each of these resolutions noted that the applicant state concerned had been excluded because of the opposition of one permanent member of the Security Council; stressed the importance for the development of the United Nations of the admission of all qualified applicants as soon as possible; stated that the applicant therein named was qualified for admission; and requested reconsideration of the application by the Security Council. The Committee on November 4 adopted these resolutions by large majorities, and the General Assembly on November 22 took like action. The Assembly majorities were as follows: on Austria, 51 to 5; on Ceylon, Finland, and Portugal, 53 to 5; on Nepal, 52 to 5; on Ireland, 51 to 5; on Italy, 51 to 6; on Jordan, 50 to 5; and on the Republic of Korea, 50 to 6.

At the same time the Soviet Representative submitted an omnibus resolution similar to that which he had previously submitted to the

Security Council. This resolution was rejected by 30 to 9 in the Committee, and by 32 votes to 12 in the Assembly. The United States voted against it on the ground that under such a resolution the Assembly would be endorsing, by a single vote, 13 applicants including the 5 which the majority in the General Assembly including the United States was unwilling to accept and excluding Korea which the Assembly wished to admit.

An additional resolution was submitted by the Argentine Delegation. This requested an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the interpretation of article 4 of the Charter. It was amended in committee so as to request the Court's opinion on the single question whether under paragraph 2 of article 4 of the Charter the admission of a state to membership can be effected by a decision of the General Assembly in the absence of a favorable recommendation by the Security Council. This resolution was approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by a vote of 37 to 9, and by the General Assembly by 42 to 9. The United States voted in favor of it.

One further resolution — originated by Iraq — was adopted. It requests the permanent members of the Security Council to refrain from the use of the veto in membership questions and requests the Council to keep all pending applications under consideration in the light of paragraph 1 of article 4 of the Charter. The Committee adopted this resolution by 34 to 10, and the Assembly took like action by 42 votes to 5.

By the end of 1949, therefore, none of the previously rejected applications for membership had been approved. However, the Assembly has taken steps to provide for continuing consideration of all pending applications by the Security Council and to obtain clarification by the Court of one of the issues created by the existing impasse, in which the nearly unanimous desire of the members is being repeatedly blocked by the position on which the Soviet Union has so far insisted.

4. VOTING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The problem of voting in the Security Council again came before the United Nations this year after an extensive study by the Interim Committee. The issue continues to be raised by the Soviet Union's arbitrary use of the veto, and the aim continues to be the finding of ways to permit the Security Council more effectively to discharge the vital duties for which it has responsibility under the Charter. The remedy fundamentally rests in a change of Soviet policy. In the conviction, however, that with the help of steadfast world opinion and the opportunities of discussion and persuasion which the United

Nations provides, improvement of the situation can and must be attained, new efforts were again made this year both by the General Assembly and by consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council.

These efforts were in the direction pointed by four specific proposals prepared by the Interim Committee and adopted in substance late in 1948 by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the Assembly in the form of a joint resolution submitted by China, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The first recommendation was that the members of the Security Council should consider as procedural a list of 35 possible decisions of the Security Council and should conduct their business accordingly.

The second was that the permanent members of the Security Council should seek agreement among themselves on additional Council decisions regarding which they might voluntarily forbear to exercise their veto.

The third suggested to the permanent members of the Security Council that they consult together on important decisions of the Council and, if there is not unanimity, to exercise the veto only when the question is of vital importance, taking into account the interest of the United Nations as a whole.

The fourth recommended to the members of the United Nations that, in agreements conferring functions on the Security Council, provision should be made for excluding the veto.

When these recommendations were being considered, the Soviet Union offered a resolution calling upon the United Nations to widen international cooperation and to avoid unnecessary regulation, and stressing the principle of unanimity as "the most important condition for ensuring the most effective action for the maintenance of international peace and security." While the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee did not deny the desirability and need of unanimity in the utmost degree obtainable, it disapproved the Soviet resolution as an instrument aimed at avoiding the improvements sought by most of the members.

Owing to the crowded agenda, final action on the joint resolution was not possible prior to the end of the General Assembly session in 1948 and it was therefore considered in plenary session of the General Assembly in April 1949. The Soviet Union at this time submitted its draft resolution again. The discussion occupied approximately four meetings. No material changes appeared in the points of view expressed the previous fall. The Soviet Union continued to oppose any discussion of the problem and any attempts at liberalization of voting procedures. The United States was among the many states

that reaffirmed support of the joint resolution. Argentina again expressed the view that the joint resolution did not go sufficiently far. The joint resolution was adopted by 43 affirmative votes to 6 negative votes with 2 abstentions. The Soviet resolution was rejected by 6 affirmative votes, 40 negative votes and 5 abstentions.

During 1949 the Soviet Union cast its veto a total of 14 times. It blocked the admission to membership of Korea and Nepal, states which this year applied for membership. Once again it vetoed the earlier applications of seven other states for membership, each of which had already failed of Council recommendation because of previous Soviet vetoes. It prevented the approval by the Security Council of the Second Progress Report of the Commission for Conventional Armaments and of two proposals to approve the recommendations of that Commission for obtaining and verifying information from member states with regard to their national military forces and armaments. The thirteenth and fourteenth vetoes prevented the adoption of a resolution to welcome the establishment of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent sovereign state and to request the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to continue to observe and assist the implementation of the agreements for the establishment of that Republic.

Despite this continued arbitrary and irresponsible use of the veto by the Soviet Union, one progressive step was taken during 1949. This resulted from two consultations among the permanent members held in October. In these, it may first be noted, the Soviet Union continued its opposition to the second recommendation of the General Assembly resolution: that the permanent members of the Security Council agree to forbear to exercise their veto in connection with certain Security Council decisions—notably those relating to the pacific settlement of disputes and the admission of new members to the United Nations. However, the five permanent members unanimously agreed to the plan of consultations proposed in the third recommendation.

In reporting the results of the two consultations the United States Representative on October 28 made the following agreed statement:

Consultations of the five permanent members on the recommendation contained in paragraph 3 (a) and (b) of the resolution of the General Assembly dated April 14, 1949, have shown an agreement on the principle and practice of consultation before important decisions of the Security Council are to be made.

As a consequence of this agreement in principle, it has been agreed that such consultations will, in practice, occur upon the call of the permanent members in alphabetical order, beginning with the United States of America in November, and rotating on a monthly basis, and they may also be held on the request of any permanent member.

It is hoped that the development of this principle of consultation under such agreed arrangements can and will result in improving the effectiveness of the Council. Doubtless vetoes will continue to be cast, but such consultations will offer opportunities to modify positions in some instances before they become rigid, and in this way may make for the gradual attainment of a common point of view on the matters involving the Security Council's great responsibilities.

The General Assembly in its autumn meetings did not take up the problem. It was initially scheduled, under an item placed before it by Argentina, to consider again the question of convoking a general conference for the purpose of discussing and taking a decision concerning review of the Charter. This was withdrawn by the Representative of Argentina on the suggestion of a number of delegations that the time was not yet ripe for calling such a conference.

5. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE POLITICAL FIELD:

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

The inclusive objective of the General Assembly in the political field of its work is peaceful settlement of international problems by co-operation. This is reflected in its activities as recounted in the pages of this report. It was directly shown in its decision this year to continue its Interim Committee, which, by performing a number of tasks between sessions of the Assembly, assists the Assembly in promoting international cooperation for peace and security and the peaceful settlement of political problems. The Interim Committee was initially established 2 years ago, experimentally, and last year it was given again only another annual term of duration. The action of the Assembly in 1949 sets no definite time limit on the Committee's existence. It made no changes in the Committee's powers and relationships, but it gave the Committee several specific new tasks of much importance.

The Assembly when it convened in its regular session in the autumn of 1949 considered the recommendations reached by the Interim Committee after a thorough study, made at the Assembly's request, of the Committee's constitution, duration, and terms of reference as weighed in the light of experience. The proposed draft resolution submitted by the Committee itself was the focus of the debate in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to which the problem was referred for consideration.

The debate showed that the majority of member states were of the opinion that, while the Interim Committee's efforts had been ham-

pered by obstacles over which it could not exercise control, it had accomplished useful work and that a longer period of activity should be granted in order to determine its usefulness as a permanent body. A number of delegations favored a considerable expansion of the functions of the Interim Committee, particularly looking toward preparation of political items for the agenda of the General Assembly. On the other hand, the five states of the Soviet group—not this year joined by Yugoslavia in this matter—maintained unaltered the adamant opposition they had shown regarding the Interim Committee throughout the past 2 years, charging again that such a body was “illegal.” This persisting attitude was the main cause of the questioning by some members—especially Pakistan, Israel, Colombia, and India—of the usefulness of the Interim Committee so long as the Soviet group refused to join in its work.

Various suggestions were therefore made toward finding some basis on which the Soviet Union as well as the other members would agree to participate in the work of an interim body. In particular, the Representative of Venezuela proposed that a subcommittee of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee be appointed, on which the group of five opposing states would be represented, to explore the possibility of drafting terms of reference to attain this desired goal. However, following repeated questions by a number of delegates, the Soviet Delegate finally made it clear that his Delegation would not participate in any subcommittee to consider the present or other terms of reference for the Interim Committee. He stated that his Delegation would be unwilling to participate in any such committee on the ground that the United Nations already has at its disposal all organs necessary. Similar statements were then made by the other four members of the Soviet group. Since the impossibility of collaborating with the Soviet group in this matter had thus been clearly demonstrated, the Venezuelan Representative withdrew his proposal.

The draft resolution proposed by the Interim Committee was then adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, 41 votes to 6, with 6 abstentions. The General Assembly took like action on November 21, 1949, by 45 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions (Pakistan, Yugoslavia, India, and Israel).

Of itself this gave the Interim Committee no new tasks. That was done, however, by other General Assembly resolutions adopted during the autumn session. The Interim Committee is to consider the report and the proposal or proposals to be made by the Commission of Inquiry on Eritrea created by the General Assembly at the same session and is to submit its conclusions to the Assembly at the next regular session. The Committee is to study the procedure to be adopted to delimit the boundaries of the former Italian colonies in so far as

these are not already fixed by international agreement and is to report its conclusions to the Assembly at the next regular session. Also, the General Assembly referred to the Interim Committee for continuous examination and study the question of threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to the peace of the Far East. The examination and study contemplated is specifically to cover possible further charges of violations of the principles contained in the resolution of the Assembly on the Promotion of Stability of International Relations in the Far East. On this the Committee is to report with recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly, or it may, if it deems necessary, bring the case to the attention of the Secretary-General with a view to possible Security Council action. Aside from these new activities, it should be noted that, as previously, the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans has authority at its discretion to consult with the Interim Committee with respect to the performance of its functions in the light of developments, and the United Nations Commission on Korea has similar authority.

Action was also taken this year in pursuance of the program for the promotion of international cooperation in the political field initiated by the Interim Committee last year. Aside from the instruction given the Committee by the Assembly in the resolution of November 21, 1949, to complete its studies on international cooperation in the political field, three main steps were taken in the Assembly's spring session. These were in the form of three resolutions (resolutions 268 (III) A, B, and D). All had been recommended by the Interim Committee and received strong support.

Resolution A contains provisions which enable the General Act for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, of September 26, 1928, to regain its original effectiveness in case member states so desire. The operation of that act, to which over 20 states (not including the United States) had at one time been parties and which embodied a comprehensive obligation to settle disputes peacefully, had required the performance of certain functions by the League of Nations and by the then existing Permanent Court of International Justice. By this resolution, adopted by 45 votes to 6 with 1 abstention, the proper organs of the United Nations will perform these same functions under a new general act in case member states wish to become parties to this act.

Resolution B recommends that the Security Council examine the desirability of adopting, in connection with its consideration of any dispute, the practice of appointing a special rapporteur or conciliator and of abstaining from action for a reasonable interval while his actual efforts at conciliation are in progress. This resolution, which was

approved by 47 votes to 6 with 1 abstention, gives general endorsement to a practice which the Security Council under its existing rules can use whenever appropriate.

Resolution D provides for the establishment of a panel for inquiry and conciliation. Under the resolution, approved by 49 votes to 6 with 2 abstentions, each member state is invited to appoint from 1 to 5 persons who may be called upon by states or by United Nations organs to act in a personal capacity as members of commissions of inquiry and conciliation. The United States announced on December 5, 1949, that it had designated the following distinguished citizens for the Panel: Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, Ralph J. Bunche, Mark Ethridge, Senator Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, and Ambassador H. Merle Cochran.

The work of the Interim Committee in promoting greater international cooperation in the political field is based on studies looking toward the further implementation of article 11 (1) and article 13 (1a) of the United Nations Charter. During this year it has established a long-range program for these studies, as suggested by its Subcommittee on the Promotion of International Cooperation in the Political Field, in which the United States participated. The program gives priority to the existing means and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and their possible improvement. The subcommittee has completed its preliminary exploration of one important part of the field of peaceful settlement: the organization and operation of United Nations Commissions. In this study, the accumulated experience of the various United Nations commissions in the field was collected and analyzed in order to assist future commissions in performing their functions. As part of this work, the Secretary-General published this year a series of memoranda in pamphlet form, each dealing with the organization and procedure of one United Nations commission. The subcommittee's composite statement based on these memoranda, together with its tentative conclusions, was transmitted by the Interim Committee to the General Assembly at the autumn session.

6. IMPROVEMENT OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROCEDURES

The General Assembly has thus far been compelled by the volume of its work to hold two meetings each year, some of its sessions lasting for almost 3 months. The length of these sessions has created a burden for all governments, particularly those of the smaller states, through the prolonged absence of officials on duty with the United Nations. Moreover, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of member govern-

ments are not usually able to attend for so long a time, though their fullest possible participation is highly desirable. It has been increasingly clear, accordingly, that the General Assembly should improve its procedures in all feasible ways in order to discharge its mounting responsibilities more expeditiously and effectively.

To this end, the Assembly in its spring session this year adopted a resolution proposed by Sweden, Denmark, and Norway providing for the appointment of a Special Committee of 15 members to study the possibilities and report to the Fourth Session, in September. The Committee met during the summer and made detailed recommendations for the use of procedures and methods which in its opinion would expedite the Assembly's proceedings. After consideration of these recommendations by the Sixth (Legal) Committee, the General Assembly on October 22, 1949, adopted a resolution approving most of them.

Some of these recommendations called for changes in the rules of procedure designed to expedite the Assembly's proceedings in several specific ways. The General Committee¹ at each session of the Assembly is to recommend a target date for the adjournment of the session and is to perform the functions of a steering committee in guiding and expediting the proceedings. The repetition in plenary meetings of the substantive debate already held in committee may now be avoided by use of a rule providing that there should be no discussion unless a third of the members present and voting favor having discussion. Substantive debate in connection with the adoption of the agenda can also be minimized. The powers and duties of presiding officers to regulate and expedite the proceedings are made more explicit. No general time limit for speeches in the Assembly or its committees was recommended or adopted. Instead, several additions to the rules will facilitate the imposition of time limits on an *ad hoc* basis in particular cases where the need arises.

The same resolution approved a number of general recommendations for improved practices, intended to expedite the Assembly's proceedings but not embodied in rules of procedure. These recommendations deal with methods to be used in examining international conventions, drafting legal texts, scheduling committee meetings and allocating agenda items to committees so as to accelerate the Assembly's operations, and, in some cases, considering items in plenary meetings without preliminary reference to committee in order to avoid loss of time through repetition of debate.

The resolution passed by the General Assembly recognizes that the development of the methods and procedures of the General Assembly

¹ See appendix I, p. 196.

is an unending task. Without prejudice to any initiative which may be taken by member states in the matter, it requests the Secretary-General to carry out appropriate studies and to submit at such times as he may consider appropriate suitable proposals, including suggestions for improved mechanical and technical devices. The Secretary-General is specially requested to study also the questions which arise concerning the scope of the requirement of a two-thirds majority vote under article 18 of the Charter for decisions by the General Assembly on important questions.

It should be observed that the changes adopted by the Assembly take directly into account the importance of maintaining the freedom of discussion essential to the Assembly's role as the leading forum of world opinion on international questions. It is generally the purpose of the changes, all effective on January 1, 1950, to increase the vitality and significance of these debates and to enable the Assembly to exercise its Charter powers with greater effectiveness.

PART II

Economic and Social Progress and Promotion of Human Rights

INTERNATIONAL cooperation in economic and social matters has increasingly become a necessity if national standards of living are to be raised and to be maintained. In an interdependent world, prosperity and the well-being of individuals and of nations everywhere depend upon the international exchange of goods and services for mutual advantage. Cooperative action is therefore growing in almost every field of human endeavor. Such cooperation also reflects a widening belief that the basic values men strive for can be obtained in the last analysis only through the common progress of all.

As this cooperative attitude expands, it strengthens the stakes of peace as against war. To the American people, in particular, international economic and social cooperation is a fundamental aspect of their dream of an attainable world of plenty with a higher standard of living and wider opportunity for peoples at home and abroad to develop their abilities in peace. That such a dream is technologically possible of realization is being shown by the multiplying discoveries of science and the countless ways in which these discoveries are being used in industry, on farms, in mines, hospitals, laboratories, homes, and other activities of daily life.

The great contrasts evident in economic and social development among nations make for friction and differences in viewpoints and aims. They create discontent and may become a threat to peaceful relations among nations. They are thus of direct concern to the security and well-being of the United States. Of the world's approximately 2,400,000,000 people, 1,500,000,000—or five-eighths—are living in underdeveloped areas and have a per capita income a year of less than \$100. The per capita income of the United States is more than twelve times as high. Every year the world's population increases by over 25,000,000. Most of this increase is in underdeveloped areas. It is in the same areas, mostly agricultural, that economic stress is further accentuated by factors which are primarily social, such as education or health. For illustration, the high incidence in the overpopulated areas of malaria, which strikes 300,000,000 persons a year,

results in reduction in agricultural output and consequent undernourishment.

Great also are the contrasting ideas on freedom. The Soviet-led totalitarian drive, with its obstructive practices evidenced today in almost all world affairs, has shown itself to be most basically a denial of human freedom, the worth of the individual, and the dignity of man. This challenge has emphasized the truism that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Increasingly, nations realize this truth. Yet at no time in history has the onslaught on freedom been as widespread, as calculating in using the economic and social aspirations of people seeking a better life to destroy the heritage of freedom.

These are some of the facts with which the United Nations has to deal. They are among the facts which the United States considers as it formulates its policies in relation to the problems arising in the United Nations.

The United Nations System Today

The concrete achievements of the United Nations during the year 1949 toward meeting world-wide economic and social problems were made with the aid of many international organs, in particular the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and its commissions, and the specialized agencies. The United Nations proper and the specialized agencies comprise the United Nations system of international cooperation for creating stability and well-being in the economic and social fields. Associated with it on a consultative basis are many nongovernmental organizations. The extent and intensity of effort being made by the United Nations system is a faithful reflection of the interests, anxieties, needs, and pooling of thought and effort that characterize the complex world civilization which is developing today and affecting the lives and destiny of the peoples in all parts of the world.

At the center of this system is the Economic and Social Council. To assist it in its work the Council has set up 12 commissions. The Council itself initiates essential projects in the commissions' fields of endeavor. In addition, the Council has brought into relationship with it 10 autonomous specialized agencies. These agencies were all established by separate intergovernmental action and operate through their own secretariats. It is one of the tasks of the Economic and Social Council to coordinate the work of the specialized agencies as between themselves and with the commissions of the Council.

The Council's 12 commissions advise it on major economic and social issues. Nine of these commissions are functional in character; the

other three are regional. The functional commissions cover the fields indicated by their titles: economic and employment, transport and communications, social, human rights, status of women, statistical, fiscal, population, and narcotic drugs. Certain of these have subcommissions. The Commission on Human Rights has subcommissions on freedom of information and of the press and on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities; the Statistical Commission has a subcommission on statistical sampling and a committee on statistical classification. The Narcotics Commission is closely related to the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Drug Supervisory Body, both of which were taken over from the League of Nations. Of the three regional commissions, covering the areas indicated by their titles, the Economic Commission for Europe is the oldest and has been by far the most active. In 1949 it functioned through a number of committees and subcommittees on coal, electric power, inland transport, steel, timber, agricultural problems, and on industrial development and trade. The other two regional commissions, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Latin America, are concentrating primarily on problems of economic development.

Wide fields of activity are covered by the 10 specialized agencies which have been brought into relationship with the United Nations under special agreements. Here again a simple enumeration of these specialized agencies by title indicates the scope of their operations. Only three of the present agencies existed prior to World War II: the International Labor Organization, the Universal Postal Union, and the International Telecommunication Union. The seven additional specialized agencies which have come into existence in recent years are the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Refugee Organization. Only three further agencies are contemplated. These are still in the preparatory stage: the International Trade Organization, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, and the World Meteorological Organization. The latter was a prewar body, differing slightly in name, which has become an intergovernmental organization of increased importance in the postwar period.

Furthermore, the Economic and Social Council has attempted to consolidate the activities of a number of the intergovernmental organizations lying outside the formal framework of the United Nations. A great many international organizations of varying scope and impor-

tance were established during the past century, as man attempted to meet his international problems through organized activities. The Economic and Social Council has recommended to member governments that certain of these organizations be abolished, some merged, and others urged to conduct their work in close cooperation with the United Nations or the specialized agencies in order to avoid possible duplication of effort and waste of funds. Progress in this field is slow, but in due course the result should be an effectively coordinated group of international organizations working in close cooperation for the common good of all.

The Charter of the United Nations recognizes the importance of consultation with nongovernmental organizations and of reaching through them the peoples of the United Nations. This conception is reflected in article 71 of the Charter, which provides for consultation with nongovernmental organizations concerned with matters within the competence of the Council.

Altogether, 90 major nongovernmental international organizations have been brought into consultative status with the United Nations. Of these, nine are in category (a), which permits them, among other rights, to propose items for the provisional agenda of the Council. Four such items were included in the agenda of the Council this year, two proposed by the American Federation of Labor and two by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Moreover, a special Committee of the Council on Consultations with Nongovernmental Organizations held special hearings to receive and discuss the views of a considerable number of nongovernmental organizations on such subjects as the economic development of underdeveloped countries, unemployment and full employment, the problem of statelessness, measures for the abolition of forced labor, the suppression of traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others, housing, town and country planning, and others. Furthermore, consultations are held with the commissions of the Council. There can be no doubt about the importance of such consultations.

The planning and conduct of these consultations between governmental and nongovernmental organizations require novel arrangements. To date, existing arrangements cannot be said to have proved fully satisfactory, largely due to the fact that certain nongovernmental organizations have tried to use these consultations for purposes of propaganda unrelated to the constructive work of the Council. The nongovernmental organizations themselves are expected to propose to the Council certain improvements in the consultative process, and the Council in turn has asked the Secretariat of the United Nations to study the existing arrangements and will review them at its tenth session in February 1950.

A Record of Progress

This report for 1949 demonstrates that the member states are rapidly learning to use the new tools of international cooperation. It describes the work planned or accomplished on many lines of effort toward achieving high levels of employment, assisting in the economic development of underdeveloped countries and territories, suppressing disease, eliminating vestiges of slavery in the world and devising means to expose the practice of forced labor, assisting children, and taking care of refugees and displaced persons. These and others are dealt with in some detail below.

Three further introductory observations may be helpful in understanding the developments being reported. First, the general economic surveys published by the United Nations are becoming increasingly important as sources of information needed by the Economic and Social Council and its commissions, by governments, and by individuals. Especially noteworthy are the Secretariat's reports entitled *World Economic Report for 1948* and the *Review of International Commodity Problems of 1948*, both published in 1949. Annual economic surveys of Europe, of Asia and the Far East, and of Latin America are prepared in addition to the world survey.

Second, the Economic and Social Council and its commissions do not have the power of legislation. The Council has the power of recommendation to the General Assembly and directly to governments. Acceptance and response to the recommendations in all cases are finally and wholly within the responsibility of the governments of the member states of the United Nations. Often such implementation is a slow and tedious process. In order to encourage and hasten it, the Economic and Social Council gave special attention during 1949 to improving the procedures for obtaining and dealing with the reports from governments on measures they have taken in response to recommendations. A special committee of the Council met at Lake Success late in December 1949 to perfect these procedures for consideration by the Council at its next session. It is expected that, from these endeavors, the work of the United Nations system in the economic and social field may be more accurately assessed and consequently may become increasingly effective.

Third, and of outstanding importance, the record makes it evident that the entire economic and social work of the United Nations has been given a new impetus and new direction by what has become known in the United States as the Point Four Program. Discussions of an enlarged program of technical assistance dominated the work of the Economic and Social Council at its Ninth Session during July and August and occupied much of the time of the Economic Committee

of the General Assembly at its autumn session. While details were criticized by various states, the proposals for such an enlarged program received unanimous support in the final vote.

Despite the difficulties inherent in the problems in the economic and social field and the added difficulties characteristic in all international relations as a result of the noncooperation of the Soviet Union in most of the efforts toward progress,¹ the economic and social work of the United Nations in 1949 reached a point where it is beginning to make appreciable difference to the people of this world. It is becoming more positive in program, more constructive in action, and more down-to-earth in facing the realities on which the foundations of peace must be built.

A. Economic Questions

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

There have been few meetings of economic and social organs of the United Nations or conferences of the specialized agencies in the past year in which economic development has not been a major subject of discussion and action. Strong public pressures require that governments take cognizance of the conditions of poverty, disease, and hunger under which two-thirds or more of the world's population now live. As a result, many governments seek economic development as a principal national objective—sometimes their primary one. In pursuing this objective they expect assistance from the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

During 1949 intergovernmental organizations have emphasized two major ways in which they can assist their members in the far-reaching task of development: through providing the underdeveloped countries with technical assistance and through assisting them in financing the necessary capital improvements.

The United Nations and almost all of the major specialized agencies are or soon will be in a position to render technical assistance. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is the only intergovernmental agency able to finance capital investments directly.

An encouraging start had been made prior to 1949. For example, the Food and Agriculture Organization had brought improved va-

¹The Soviet Union at this time participates in only two of the specialized agencies, the Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunication Union; it also participates in the World Meteorological Organization which is expected to become a specialized agency next year. For its position regarding the World Health Organization, see p. 227.

ieties of corn into Europe and the Near East and better breeds of poultry into the Orient. The FAO had also conducted temporary schools in technical subjects such as artificial insemination to improve livestock in Europe. The United Nations had sent an expert to Guatemala to help establish a school of social work. The World Health Organization had assisted Greece in stamping out malaria. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development loaned \$16,000,000 to Chile for hydroelectric development and for the purchase of agricultural machinery.

Assistance of a comparable nature was continued in 1949 at a somewhat accelerated rate. In the economic field the United Nations budget provided \$307,750 for technical assistance for economic development. Under this program experts were sent to member governments requesting technical assistance on a wide range of economic problems. Under the training program—separate from the expert assistance program—52 fellowships were granted for advanced study in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Twenty-five of these fellowships were awarded for study in the United States, including three in Puerto Rico. The principal fields of study included combined resources development, public administration, statistics, finance and trade, fiscal methods, hydraulics, mineral exploration, telecommunications, road and rail transportation, electricity production, and blast-furnace operation.

The comprehensive survey mission, consisting of experts drawn from the staff of the United Nations and several specialized agencies, which was sent to Haiti in 1948, completed its report in 1949. The report analyzes the country's development problems and contains many recommendations in the fields of agriculture, industry, education, health, money and credit, and public finance, in addition to recommendations of a more general character for organizing and planning economic development.

A major accomplishment of the United Nations in the field of technical assistance for economic development was the United Nations Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources, held at Lake Success August 17–September 6, 1949. People in all parts of the world have witnessed in recent years the stupendous advances of science, which have opened up vast new frontiers for the use and development of resources. At the same time they have become concerned over disclosures of shocking exploitation and waste of vital natural resources. On the basis of a proposal made by the President of the United States in 1946, the United Nations decided to sponsor this scientific conference. It was the first of such magnitude and world-wide coverage ever to be held, although such a conference had

been seriously considered by President Theodore Roosevelt during his term of office. The purpose of the conference was not to arrive at formal recommendations binding upon governments but rather to promote the exchange of scientific knowledge among countries. After the conference at Lake Success visits were made by the foreign delegates to a number of areas in the United States where various types of conservation projects are under way. The conference was entirely scientific and technical in character and was attended by approximately 700 scientists, technicians, and administrators from 51 countries and 7 international organizations. The participants attended in their personal capacities and not as government representatives. Discussions were based upon scientific papers prepared in advance and lectures delivered by distinguished authorities during the conference. The broad classes of problems discussed were the present state of world resources, resource development techniques, mineral resources, fuels and energy, water resources, forests, land resources, and wildlife, fish and marine resources.

These programs, both on the part of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies,¹ were admittedly small in scale and experimental. Recognition of the need for a broader and bolder attack on the problems of economic development was made, however, in the fourth point of the inaugural address of the President of the United States on January 20, 1949. The President called for technical assistance from the resources of all countries, to be rendered through the United Nations and the specialized agencies wherever practicable.

A few weeks later, upon the motion of the United States Representative, the Economic and Social Council passed a resolution calling on the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Directors-General of the specialized agencies, to work out an expanded program of technical assistance to be undertaken by all the organizations working on a cooperative and coordinated basis.

This was done, and in May the Secretary-General published a report which contained detailed and concrete statements of what each organization was prepared to do in the way of rendering technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. These statements described the fields in which the organizations would act and discussed the actual techniques which they would apply. They could not, of course, name specific countries since assistance would have to be requested by the countries desiring to receive it.

At its summer session in Geneva, the Economic and Social Council took up the questions of how the expanded program should be planned and coordinated, how it should be financed, and how it should be

¹ The work of the specialized agencies is described in later sections of this report.

administered. The arrangements agreed upon call for annual programs to be planned by the secretariats of the agencies acting together, subject to the policy control of the respective governing bodies. The program is to be financed through a special account to be set up by the United Nations, to which all governments belonging to any of the participating organizations will be invited to contribute. This total fund will then be distributed among the organizations on the basis of agreed procedures. A standing Technical Assistance Board made up of the heads or organizations will be kept informed of all requests for assistance received by each organization, will examine proposed programs in relation to each other, will help in arranging joint projects involving two or more organizations, and will make recommendations regarding the whole program of technical assistance to the Technical Assistance Committee (composed of the members of the Economic and Social Council). Responsibility for administration and operation of the program will rest on the respective secretariats, but policy control will rest in the Economic and Social Council and ultimately in the General Assembly of the United Nations and the conferences or governing bodies of the agencies.

These plans were unanimously approved by the 59 members of the United Nations meeting in the General Assembly in the fall of 1949. It is generally agreed that the progress toward an expanded technical assistance program for economic development is outstanding among the accomplishments of the year 1949.

Since the projected activities in the field of technical assistance will include not only programs carried on by intergovernmental organizations, but also programs arranged bilaterally between individual countries, provision for coordination of the one with the other is essential. The plans being made within the United States Government for the expansion of United States bilateral technical assistance programs provide for coordination with those of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The question of financing economic development both by public and private capital occupied a considerable proportion of the time of many United Nations organs. One tangible result of this work which was produced during the year was the detailed study, made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, assisted by experts drawn from all over the world, on "Methods of Increasing Domestic Savings." Other studies on related topics, including a study of "International Capital Movements" and a study of the "Relative Prices of Exports and Imports of Under-Developed Countries" were also published. Additional studies, including one on "Conditions Governing Private Foreign Investments in Selected Countries," were begun during the year.

As has been stated above, the only organization in the United Nations system which is actually in a position to make capital available for international investment is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The loans made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 1949 amounted to approximately \$219 million, the major portion of which went to countries in Latin America and Asia for purposes directly related to economic development. For example, there were two loans totaling \$34 million to Mexico to finance power facilities, a loan of \$5 million to Colombia for agricultural machinery, and a loan to India of \$34 million for railroad development. Aside from the granting of loans, the Bank aided its members on request by sending missions to assist them in the analysis and assessment of their economic development potentialities, in improving their credit standing, and in planning measures to attract private capital to development of enterprises. Missions were sent in 1949 to four Latin American countries, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, and Peru, and to four Near and Middle Eastern countries, Egypt, India, Iraq, and Turkey, as well as to other countries, including Yugoslavia.

2. UNEMPLOYMENT AND FULL EMPLOYMENT

As in previous years, employment was the subject of much discussion in the Economic and Employment Commission, in the Economic and Social Council, and in the General Assembly. In the General Assembly, proposals were made under which the United Nations would have recommended to member governments that they take measures to guarantee full employment. Such a guaranty by a national government would, of course, have cut across the economic systems and beliefs as to the role of government in many countries, of which the United States is one. The United States Representative explained that the position which this Government considers sound is set forth in the United States Employment Act of 1946 and explained briefly how the United States Government operates under the terms of that act. The recommendation which the Assembly finally adopted, with United States support, recommends that each government consider its responsibility "to take action, as need arises, designed to promote and maintain full and productive employment, through measures appropriate to its political, economic, and social institutions."

The discussions in these United Nations bodies showed how widespread is the belief that, were the United States to pass through another severe economic depression as in the 1930's, most of the other countries of the world would suffer serious repercussions no matter what steps they might take to prevent or ameliorate them. This

belief stems from the recognition of the importance of the position of the United States economy in the world economy. It is bolstered by the still vivid recollections of the depression beginning in 1929.

Reflecting the concern felt by many delegations with the problem of employment, the discussions which took place in the Economic and Employment Commission, in the Economic and Social Council, and in the General Assembly contained a number of interesting and important statements made by various representatives as to economic conditions within their countries and regarding measures which their governments were taking to deal with the problem of maintaining high and stable levels of employment.

At the ninth session of the Council in Geneva, the United States Representative, Assistant Secretary of State Willard L. Thorp, made a statement with regard to the condition of the United States economy during the crucial period of economic readjustment which occurred during the year 1949. He described the need for adjustment which was being experienced by the economy of the United States in common with the economies of the other former belligerent countries and showed how this was the result of the change-over from wartime production and of the exceptional demands for peacetime goods which had been built up during the war period. He pointed out that while the United States was making the adjustment, employment had dropped from 61.6 million in July 1948 to 59.7 million in July 1949, but that total output and employment still remained at a very high level. Mr. Thorp also described various stabilizing factors in the United States economy, including the many social, financial, and economic reforms, enacted since the early 1930's, which had brought increased stability to the United States.

The United States Representative in the Economic Committee of the General Assembly, Wilson M. Compton, president of the State College of Washington, took the opportunity offered by the fall session of that body to point out the same reassuring facts and to state that the United States Government stands ready to take measures if necessary to counter a depression before it gets out of control.

Although the Representatives of the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states introduced resolutions into the Council and the Assembly intended to highlight the alleged weaknesses of the United States economy, these resolutions were decisively rejected.

The United Nations is also giving much attention to what specific steps are feasible to prevent a growth of unemployment. Many of the member governments, including the United States, responded during the early months of 1949 to a questionnaire sent out by the Secretary-General asking for a statement as to their plans and policies with respect to full employment. These replies were considered

by the Council. In accordance with a Council resolution the Secretary-General assembled in the fall of 1949 a group of well-known experts, drawn from the United Kingdom, France, Australia, and the United States, to prepare a report on "National and International Measures for Full Employment." This group completed its report on the subject in December, in time for consideration by the Economic and Employment Commission in January 1950 and by the Economic and Social Council in February 1950.

3. INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The outstanding achievement in the international trade field during 1949 was the tariff negotiations at Annecy, France, in which 33 countries participated. The negotiations were carried on within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, concluded at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947. Ten of the 33 countries were new as contracting parties in 1949 and included such important trading countries as Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Italy, Greece, and Uruguay.

Under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, tariff rates were reduced or bound at current levels on 45,000 individual items. These items account for over half of the total foreign trade of the world, and the 33 contracting parties account for over 80 percent of the same total. The General Agreement not only covers tariff concessions, but also provides for the control of quotas and for the elimination of such other trade barriers as limitations on the right of transit, unreasonable regulations regarding the marking of exported products to show country of origin, and types of internal taxation which have the effect of a hidden tariff.

The original contracting parties were substantially the same countries which met in London in 1946 and in Geneva in 1947 as members of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, established by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1946, to draft a charter for the proposed International Trade Organization. Indeed this Preparatory Committee, at its London meeting, decided that the tariff negotiations which led up to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade should be held under its own sponsorship in connection with, and as a part of, its Geneva meeting in 1947 which prepared the charter draft submitted to the Habana Conference. The United Nations Conference was held in Habana early in 1948 and the representatives of 54 countries agreed to the draft charter, subject to ratification by their governments. The President of the United States submitted the charter to the Congress for ratification in 1949. Other countries await action by the United States.

The International Trade Organization is the principal economic unit of the United Nations system which remains to be put into operation. It was conceived and planned as complementary to the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. The United States took the initiative in submitting the "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment" in 1945 and in preparing a suggested charter which provided the basis for the work of the Preparatory Committee and the Habana Conference. The final charter naturally reflects the problems and aspirations of the other countries, although it retains the essential provisions of the original United States draft.

The Iro charter deals with the reduction or elimination not only of tariffs but also of quotas, unfair customs practices, restrictions on transit, discrimination, and other barriers to trade. Tariffs are to be reduced by mutual consent as a result of negotiation. The charter also contains an agreement to prevent, under certain circumstances, business practices affecting international trade which restrain competition, to limit access to markets, and foster monopolistic control. It thus constitutes the first international recognition of the policy, which is traditional in the United States, of controlling harmful activities on the part of monopolies. It embodies provisions regarding international agreements on the production and marketing of commodities of which there may be a burdensome surplus. Under these provisions, consumer interests are given recognition equal to that accorded the producing countries which in the past have been free to enter into any kind of restrictive agreement, however costly to the consuming countries. The charter also sets up an organization to administer the substantive agreements and to serve as a forum for discussion of the complex problems which inevitably arise in the field of international trade. The International Trade Organization is regarded as essential to the pursuit of the objectives of the United Nations in the economic field.

4. INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Mention has already been made of the work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the only agency of the United Nations system in a position to make capital advances. In 1949 the International Bank made 11 loans to as many countries for a total of \$219 million. Before 1949 it had made 6 loans to 5 countries for a total of \$525 million. The Bank was in the process of examining a number of other loan applications during 1949, and its operations may be expected to expand.

In the field of exchange rates, which is the special province of the International Monetary Fund, the most significant events of the

postwar period occurred in 1949. On September 18 the International Monetary Fund announced that the United Kingdom had proposed and the Fund had concurred in a change in the par value of the pound sterling from the previous rate of one pound sterling to \$4.03 to one pound sterling to \$2.80. By September 30, 25 other countries, including 16 members of the Fund, had announced adjustments in their exchange rates. The extent of the devaluations ranged from 9.1 percent to 30.5 percent. The devaluations were undertaken as positive steps toward establishing equilibrium in balance of payments and convertibility of currencies. The making of these adjustments in a cooperative spirit, in conformity with the Fund Agreement, is in sharp contrast with the interwar practice of competitive depreciation and retaliation. In the period after September 30, a number of other countries also undertook devaluations of their currencies or adjustments of their exchange rate systems. The effects of the devaluations on trade and capital movements were not clear by the close of 1949.

5. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Within the United Nations system it is the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which has the most direct concern with the ever-present and ever-pressing problem of food. Two-thirds of the world's people still have inadequate diets, for various reasons including insufficient production, improper processing and storage, unsatisfactory trading arrangements, low real incomes, or inefficient and unscientific consumption habits and practices.

The FAO is now carrying on a number of activities designed to help improve this situation. Great emphasis is being placed on rendering technical assistance to member countries through the FAO. For example, the organization is helping various governments establish educational advisory services for bringing to individual farmers the scientific knowledge now available for increasing production and improving the handling, processing, and distribution of food and other farm, forest, and fisheries products. Technical aid has been given on a wide variety of problems, such as animal and plant disease control, storage of grains, conservation and prevention of soil erosion, and fishery production and conservation. An International Rice Commission, an Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council at Bangkok, a General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean, and Forestry Commissions in Latin America and Europe have been promoted by the FAO to help member governments work together through joint action in these special fields. This work will be extended, it is hoped, under the United Nations program of technical assistance.

Provision of basic statistical and technical information is an important responsibility of the FAO, carried over in part from the pre-war International Institute of Agriculture. This basic information is provided through regular annual and monthly series of food and agricultural, forestry and fishery statistics; commodity bulletins; and special technical studies. The FAO also has the responsibility for promoting the World Agricultural Census of 1950. Statistical training schools were held during 1949 in Baghdad, Mexico City, Paris, and New Delhi to help train technicians in statistical techniques.

Since the world food situation has ceased to be characterized by severe market shortages, the last of the International Emergency Food Council Committees of the FAO for allocating supplies was abolished in 1949. The Fifth Session of the Conference of the FAO in Washington, ending December 6, 1949, made some important decisions concerning marketing problems especially as related to possible surpluses. A report had been prepared by a group of experts on request of the FAO Council and sent to governments for consideration. This report proposed the establishment of an International Commodity Clearing House which would have the primary function of enabling purchasers in soft-currency areas to buy through this clearing house, with their soft currencies, surplus food and agricultural products of hard-currency areas. This proposal was not favored by the United States and numerous other countries, primarily because either the Commodity Clearing House or the sellers would have had to acquire and hold large quantities of soft currencies, thus making more difficult the achievement of currency convertibility by the soft-currency countries. The Conference agreed instead to establish an FAO committee on commodity problems, consisting of 14 member governments, to consider statements of needs from countries having difficulties in obtaining supplies and statements from countries holding surpluses regarding their plans for disposal of supplies on special terms; to review information relating to commodity surplus and deficit situations; and where desirable to initiate discussions among governments on these situations.

Throughout 1949 the FAO actively participated in numerous international activities sponsored by one or more of the United Nations agencies, such as joint studies of agricultural requisites with the regional economic commissions of the United Nations for Europe, Latin America, and Asia and the Far East; servicing of the Timber Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe; a joint program with the World Health Organization for malaria control in areas where the FAO will assist in promoting agricultural production and a joint nutrition program with WHO; the cooperative programs with WHO for the International Children's Emergency Fund on the nu-

tritional aspects of child-feeding programs; assistance in the agricultural and nutritional aspects of the United Nations Relief Program for Palestine Refugees; a joint program with UNESCO to promote worldwide education on problems of "Food and People"; and assistance in preparing for the United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources.

6. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The increasing amount of international cooperation necessary to assure adequate international transport and communications facilities is being achieved through several specialized organizations and technical conferences. The United States participated during 1949 in all the important bodies concerned: the Transport and Communications Commission of the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union, the World Meteorological Organization, the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe, and the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport. These organizations and conferences are effectively bettering world transport and communications facilities, promoting the safety of air flights, simplifying road travel, and securing agreement on the sharing of radio frequencies.

Safety of international air travel is being promoted through agreement among the 55 members of the International Civil Aviation Organization on technical regulations and annexes to the Convention governing flight procedures. The series of safety and operational regulations originally envisaged by the 1944 Chicago Conference which concluded the International Civil Aviation Convention is nearly complete. Ten "annexes" of the series are now in effect, including those on airworthiness, registration of aircraft, facilitation of international air transport (border crossing procedures), and aeronautical telecommunications adopted during 1949.

Furthermore, a new international agreement was reached this year on the maintenance of special loran (long-range aid to navigation) stations supplying radio navigational assistance for transocean flights and of a network of weather-observation-rescue ships in the North Atlantic Ocean. The financing of these radio aids to navigation and the weather-observation-rescue ships, under agreements sponsored by the International Civil Aviation Organization, is being shared by the nations whose planes fly the transatlantic route. The vision of the aviation organization in sponsoring this weather ship project has been fully justified by the aid furnished to planes not only in matters of

routine navigation and weather reporting, but also in the actual rescue of downed aircraft and even of surface vessels in distress. Similarly, an agreement was reached through the International Civil Aviation Organization in 1949 whereby the several user nations contribute proportional financial support to the maintenance and operation of air navigation facilities and services required in Greenland and the Faroes by international civil aviation operating over the North Atlantic.

The development of international regulations permitting uninterrupted radio communication for planes and for use by loran stations and the weather ships has been worked out by the two international organizations concerned respectively with telecommunications and with aviation. The United States has been active in all the steps through which these workable rules are being adopted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Some international agreement has been attained on the division of radio frequencies for cultural and commercial purposes. The announced requirements of the nations of the world for radio frequencies are three times the available supply. Thus challenged, members of the International Telecommunication Union have been meeting in almost constant session since the summer of 1947 to solve the technical and political problems involved. Agreement has been reached on frequencies for standard-band broadcasting in the Americas and Europe and television, in addition to those for use by ships at sea, airplanes, and weather reporting circuits. Discussions are still going forward on frequency-sharing for high-frequency and very high-frequency radio broadcasting such as used for transmitting the United States' Voice of America programs. Engineering experience has demonstrated the possibility of a fair division of these much sought after frequencies if the nations of the world act in good faith.

International telegraph and telephone communications have also been subject to review by the International Telecommunication Union, which acted during the summer of 1948 to bring up to date its regulations governing these essential media. Although in 1949 the United States signed, with certain reservations, the International Telegraph Regulations, the United States has not been able to agree to the International Telephone Regulations proposed by the same International Telecommunication Union conference because of differing concepts on rates and service.

International mail is another daily concern intimately connected with the foregoing matters. The success of the Universal Postal Union, a specialized agency of the United Nations, in assuring uninterrupted postal communications among the people of the world continues in its accustomed unspectacular but efficient manner.

In the field of specialized effort to facilitate inland surface transport, progress has been stimulated particularly in the European area by the interest and activity of the United Nations Transport and Communications Commission and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. The latter's Inland Transport Committee has been successful in working out a wide variety of cooperative measures for reestablishing the highly complex intra-European railway traffic. This has involved reassignment of the various systems' railroad cars dispersed during World War II, unification of railroad timetables, and recommendations relating to a variety of matters including, for example, standardization of certain types of railroad equipment, and the transport of fresh fruit under refrigeration. The United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has now begun a systematic review of the inland transport needs—rail, highway, and waterway—of that area. The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America has projected a similar review in its area.

Intra-European truck traffic has been speeded up and the region more efficiently served under an International Truck Traffic Agreement sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. This agreement, signed by 16 nations, permits certain forms of traffic to proceed as "through" traffic and eliminates many time-consuming delays at national borders. International passenger automobile traffic, not only in Europe but elsewhere in the world, will, it is expected, be greatly stimulated by the International Road Traffic Convention agreed upon by the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport in September 1949. The new agreement covers international driving permits, international registrations, rules of the road, vehicle equipment, and simple customs formalities. It is intended eventually to supersede the two Paris conventions of 1926 and the Inter-American Convention on Regulation of Automotive Traffic of 1943.

Basically, the tasks concerning world transport and communications are to simplify and speed the movement of goods and passengers and the transmission of spoken or written messages. The ease with which the people of the world and their goods may move about, and the ease with which people may communicate with each other, relate directly to the aims of the United Nations Charter to promote "the economic and social advancement of all peoples". The United States, having widespread commercial and trade relationships and being committed wholeheartedly to cooperative endeavor for world recovery and prosperity, has a direct interest in the continuing success of the United Nations in these fields.

B. Labor Questions

In a world faced with a multitude of changing economic and social problems and growing demands of peoples for higher standards of living and improved working conditions, international cooperation to improve labor conditions and standards through the United Nations and its specialized agencies has markedly increased over the past 4 years. The International Labor Organization (ILO) has special jurisdiction in this field. Furthermore, its peculiar tripartite structure, being composed of worker and employer groups as well as of governments, has given it an unusual role. In addition to the ILO, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Economic and Employment Commission, the Population Commission, and the International Refugee Organization have concerned themselves with certain questions relating to labor.

Among the several aspects of such international discussion and international cooperation are the following three: manpower utilization, including problems of technical training, employment service organization, and migration and migrant labor; trade-union rights, including questions of freedom of association and protection of the right to organize and to bargain collectively; and a proposed survey of forced labor.

I. MANPOWER UTILIZATION

The experience in dealing with unemployment during the depression of the 1930's and in utilizing manpower for production in wartime and the general need for increased labor forces after the war, have led to a large-scale effort to improve the utilization of manpower. It is well understood that only through proper manpower utilization can high levels of employment, increased productivity, and improved standards of living be achieved. Manpower problems used to be thought of primarily in terms of relieving unemployment and keeping human beings from starvation. To a large extent this basic point of view is tending to change because of a developing attitude on the part of governments that they should not only resist a return of large-scale unemployment but also take affirmative measures designed to maintain full employment and to use manpower effectively.

The ILO is assisting countries to develop programs for more effective manpower utilization. Generally, these programs cover three aspects. One is the need for workers with higher skills in order to achieve greater productivity and a higher standard of living. The ILO therefore is assisting countries to establish technical training programs. These to a large extent are based upon the experiences of the highly

developed western countries and involve apprenticeship training for the younger worker who is beginning to learn a trade, training-within-industry programs for workers already on the job who may be given advanced training in their own fields of employment, and vocational training and educational programs for youths still in school. Another aspect is that of employment service organizations. The function of these organizations, whether public or private, is to assist in bringing workers and jobs together. In large and complicated industrial societies, experience has shown that it is possible for workers to be unemployed in one geographical or functional area while available jobs exist in other areas. An employment service organization makes it possible for manpower supply and manpower demand to adjust promptly and with a minimum of friction by bringing workers and jobs together within the national boundaries of a state.

A further aspect of this program is a properly organized system of international migration to assist workers in surplus labor areas to migrate to countries where there is a greater demand for workers. Such migration may either be temporary or permanent, but in either case it raises a great human problem and requires the attention of national and international authorities. Because of differences in language and customs, migrants are peculiarly in need of protection. The Ilo in these respects seeks to assist the migrants as well as the countries concerned in preparing and receiving them and, through international conventions and direct advice, to assist in promoting increased migration from surplus to deficit labor areas.

Several years of preparatory work on treatment of migrant labor culminated, at the International Labor Conference during June and July of 1949, in the adoption of a convention and a recommendation concerning migration for employment. The United States Delegation endorsed these instruments. They provided generally for application to migrants of treatment not less favorable than those which governments applied to their own nationals. Such matters as remuneration, trade-union membership, and accommodation were covered so far as they were made the subject of governmental regulation. Other points for nondiscriminatory treatment were social security and employment taxes. At the same time, other equitable provisions relating to migrants as such were included in a model agreement attached to the recommendation. These relate to recruitment, information and assistance, conditions of transport, transfer of funds, and other problems faced by those taking employment under new conditions in foreign countries.

In the General Assembly in the autumn session, the Polish Delegation, supported by other Eastern European states, sought to separate

from these balanced and carefully drafted provisions particular points upon which they wished to obtain a General Assembly judgment and, by implication, a criticism of the migrant labor policies of the United States and Western European and Latin American countries. By a large majority, however, a resolution was adopted which, in effect, endorsed the action of the ILO in this field and requested it to expedite the adoption and application of the convention, recommendation, and model agreement.

Two other organizations have certain responsibilities related to migrant labor. The International Refugee Organization has the problem of displaced persons in its particular charge and is assisting their migration and resettlement. On matters of common interest the IRO has cooperated with the ILO. This particular phase of the migration problem is now concluding. The Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council is concerned particularly with the statistical aspects of migration. It is working toward the establishment of worldwide statistical norms to provide comparative facts in the field of migration.

2. FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

The second main subject, the right to organize and to bargain collectively, is often referred to broadly as trade-union rights but is also known as freedom of association since it involves the right of employer as well as of workers to organize. In 1947 the Economic and Social Council requested the ILO to examine the question of the rights involved. The ILO subsequently adopted two conventions in this field, one in 1948, the other in 1949. The former set forth principles of freedom of association and protection of the right to organize. It was applicable equally to workers' and to employers' organizations. The 1949 convention concerned the application of the principles of the right to organize and to bargain collectively. The two together are an attempt at the international level to give specific recognition to the rights and freedoms of workers and employers and to prevent either one, or governments, from denying basic rights and freedoms to either group. Although these rights and freedoms are well established in the United States and in some other countries, it is anticipated that these conventions will lead to their more general recognition. Both the ILO and the United Nations itself have been in consultation on the possibility of establishing a fact-finding and conciliation commission to ascertain the facts behind charges alleging the denial of freedom of association in various countries. Such a commission would provide machinery for implementing the ILO Conventions on this subject.

3. FORCED LABOR

The existence of forced labor—brought officially to the attention of Ecosoc by the American Federation of Labor in 1947—was finally brought in 1949 to a full discussion in both Ecosoc and the ILO. At both sessions of Ecosoc in 1949, the United States and other delegations vigorously pressed charges that forced labor existed in various countries in certain degrees and that it was particularly prevalent in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries.

In Ecosoc, the United States Representative took the position that the Council could not remain silent in the face of the evidence which had been brought out and that positive action was required of the United Nations. He requested the establishment of a commission of inquiry which would determine the nature and extent of this evil. The reactions to these accusations and proposals on the part of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states gave convincing evidence that these governments had been touched in a sensitive spot. On the one hand, they denounced the accusations as sheer propaganda despite the fact that the Soviet laws authorizing forced labor were read into the record; on the other hand, they refused to admit within their territories any investigation of the conditions alleged to exist in forced labor camps.

Meanwhile, in June 1949, the ILO at its annual conference recognized forced labor as a "matter of grave and widespread concern" and considered that an impartial inquiry into the situation should be undertaken. The ILO offered its close cooperation with the United Nations in any inquiry which might be undertaken.

The United States proposal for a commission of inquiry failed to be adopted at the Ninth Session of the Economic and Social Council (July–August 1949). This failure was due essentially to the outright Soviet refusal to cooperate. Other countries took the position that if the flagrant conditions in Eastern Europe were to go unexamined by an on-the-spot investigation the inquiry would be deprived of the objectivity and completeness necessary for a successful survey. The Secretary-General, who had already canvassed member countries on their willingness to cooperate in a survey, was requested to make a further exploration and to report to the Council at its first session in 1950.

4. OTHER QUESTIONS

Aside from these main subjects, much constructive and continuing activity reflecting the substantive and direct interest of employers, employees, and governments in this field is regularly under way. Most

of the work is carried out by or through the ILO. It resulted in 1949 in a number of conventions other than those already mentioned, which have all been sent to governments for ratification or other action. These related to standards for accommodation of crews on board ship, wages and hours of work on board ship, standards concerning vacations with pay for seafarers, labor clauses in public contracts, protection of wages, and regulation of fee-charging employment agencies. The large number of meetings and conferences held in connection with the continuing work cannot all be noted here. Several were in the general field of inland transport conditions. Among others were those on safety, statistics, social security rights, and juvenile delinquency. A special regional conference particularly on agricultural labor and labor disputes was held among the American states members of the ILO, and an Asian conference of experts on technical training was held in Singapore.

Much of the continuing work on labor questions is little noticed in the movement of world affairs, but all of it essentially represents more intensive and detailed effort than ever was made in the past to improve labor standards and conditions throughout the world.

C. Social and Cultural Advancement

The interrelation of economic, labor, social, and cultural questions is so extensive that it is largely for purposes of presentation that they are separated as fully as appears in this report. Five primarily social and cultural questions were of special importance in the activities carried on in 1949.

I. HEALTH

Interchange of information between countries concerning the outbreak and spread of communicable diseases has been carried on without serious interruption since 1903, when the first effective sanitary convention was concluded, except during World War II when international health activities practically ceased. The importance of cooperation on health matters was generally recognized, however, and the need for expanded public health effort became even more obvious to all governments as a consequence of the war. International health activities immediately after the war were concentrated, first, upon the health problems created by the war, especially those in war-devastated countries, and second, upon the building up of international machinery to meet these greater needs. With the establishment of the World Health Organization in 1948 and the attainment of a membership of

68 nations by the end of 1949, the way has been opened to work on a broad front.

Because of the increased danger of disease transmission flowing from the greater speeds of postwar transportation and the increased volume of international trade and travel, the World Health Organization has expanded the epidemiological information service which was begun in earlier international health efforts. During 1949, it inaugurated a program of thrice-daily worldwide radio broadcasts, giving the latest information about the existence of communicable diseases all over the world. In this way, not only are quarantine authorities alerted to the most recent disease hazards, but they are also enabled to process the passengers and vessels in international commerce much more quickly. Work also has proceeded on the revision of the international sanitary conventions in the light of current scientific knowledge with a view to obtaining regulations more appropriate to present conditions of international commerce. Similar effort is being made to work out an international system of biological standardization and for the unification of pharmacopoeias.

However important this revival and expansion of the traditional international health activities may be, a more dynamic approach to the solution of international health problems is being developed and is expected to be more effective. It is designed to eradicate diseases at their source and to build up healthy populations, thus better enabling the world's people to work and enjoy the fruits of their labor as healthy human beings. By decision of the public-health authorities of the world working through the WHO, a top priority rating has been given to programs in six fields—malaria, venereal disease, tuberculosis, environmental sanitation, maternal and child health, and nutrition. The services of expert consultants and demonstration teams have been offered for the assistance of national health services in developing programs in these fields.

Through this mode of operation, several objectives are being attained. First, by working with and through the national health service of a country, that service is strengthened and thus becomes more able to carry out further health programs by its own efforts; next, by attacking disease in this local way, not only do the peoples of the specific area benefit, but the rest of the world is afforded better promise of protection against spread of disease than could possibly be expected from quarantine measures alone; finally, since programs for training of local health personnel are carried on simultaneously with the demonstrations, expansion of demonstrated programs becomes feasible.

During 1949, substantial progress was made in all priority fields.

A worldwide struggle is being waged against malaria, a disease most prevalent in the great agricultural areas of the world. Experts

have been sent to Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Hungary, India, Iran, Pakistan, and Rumania, to put on demonstration programs showing the most effective use of DDT against this disease and to train local personnel to continue and expand the spraying program. Some of this work has been done by the WHO experts in cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization in regard to food production and nutrition and with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in regard to making supplies available for child health protection. The Economic and Social Council has been participating in the effort to stimulate the production and distribution of DDT in order to make it more readily available throughout the world, as an aid in controlling such insect-borne diseases as malaria.

In combating the venereal diseases, a WHO expert team was sent to India to set up diagnostic laboratories, to give demonstrations of the latest methods of treatment of syphilis by penicillin, and to conduct training courses for Indian doctors and nurses at the demonstration centers. Another team was sent to the Philippines to organize a comprehensive venereal-disease control program. An expert consultant was sent to various European countries, as part of a joint WHO-UNICEF project, to launch campaigns for the eradication of syphilis especially among mothers and children. In another cooperative project, WHO is working with the International Labor Organization on a program to check the spread of venereal disease by seafarers, migrant workers, and migrant families.

Tuberculosis—one of mankind's deadliest diseases—became even more widespread during the chaotic war and early postwar periods. The campaign against it has been proceeding in virtually all parts of the world by joint effort of the WHO, UNICEF, and the Danish and other Scandinavian Red Cross Societies. Using supplies made available largely through UNICEF, and with experts provided and trained through these same joint efforts, millions of children and young adults are being tested for tuberculosis infection. Where the results are negative, the individuals are vaccinated with BCG (*Bacillus Calmette-Guérin*) for protective purposes; where results are found to be positive, this vaccination is not given but appropriate treatment is recommended if the disease is active.¹ In addition, a WHO expert radiologist technician has been sent to Egypt to determine by X-ray examinations the incidence of tuberculosis in that country, to demonstrate X-ray testing methods, and to train local technicians. Demonstration projects combined with training courses for local personnel are proceeding in India and Ceylon. A consultant has also begun a tour of the Middle East countries for the purpose of analyzing and evaluating the seriousness of the tuberculosis incidence in those countries, examining the

¹ See also below, p. 131.

existing methods of treatment, and making recommendations of the further facilities required. It is expected that a similar survey will shortly be made in various Latin American countries.

In the opinion of health experts, more than three-quarters of the world's population is subject to filth-borne diseases resulting from poor sewage disposal, impure water supplies, insects, and tainted milk and other food. Mortality from typhoid, dysentery, cholera, hookworm, plague, and other diseases due to poor sanitation remains for these peoples at the high levels prevailing in previous centuries. To combat this situation, the WHO has sent experts to the Philippines, China, and Ethiopia to advise the governments on sanitation programs and set up training courses. Demonstration teams will also be sent to countries in Southeast Asia, the eastern Mediterranean, and other countries requesting similar service. In Latin America all health activities are being widened and facilitated by the coming into effect during 1949 of the interim agreement by which the Pan American Sanitary Bureau has become the regional office of the WHO for this area.

An illustration of the developing international cooperation in the field of health, comparable to the suppression of the cholera epidemic in Egypt in 1947, was the action taken during 1949 against the sudden, serious outbreak of typhus in Afghanistan. Less than 36 hours after the news of the outbreak reached WHO, typhus vaccine was being flown to the stricken area and WHO regional offices all over the world were offering to give any needed assistance.

Supplementing the operational program of the WHO is its fellowship program. Under this program, international exchange of medical and public-health personnel is being facilitated, and additional means are being provided whereby qualified technical personnel from the United States and other countries may benefit from study of public-health methods and techniques used in other places in the world. This is a part of a cooperative effort to enable individual countries better to develop and carry on effective public-health programs. An illustration of such cooperation among members is the invitation extended by the Government of the United States to venereologists in other countries to come to this country to study and evaluate our control methods, particularly recent developments in syphilis therapy through the use of penicillin.

2. NARCOTIC DRUG CONTROL

Further measures were also taken in 1949 to combat illicit traffic in narcotic drugs. The necessary work in this field is related to that of WHO but it is conducted within the United Nations proper. Since reports from governments have disclosed increased smuggling of raw

opium, opium prepared for smoking, heroin, and cocaine, there obviously is a rising danger to the public. The General Assembly of the United Nations, on the proposal of the United States, recommended this year that all states increase their efforts to eradicate illegal production of opium and coca leaves, from which heroin and cocaine are respectively derived, and to discover and prevent illicit manufacture of narcotics whether produced from opium or synthetics.

With a view to improving the system of international control over narcotics, work is progressing on the drafting of a single new convention—a project proposed by the United States in 1948—to replace and simplify the existing eight international conventions, protocols, and agreements in this field. The Secretary-General of the United Nations prepared a survey of the problems involved, including the scope of the convention, methods of determining world requirements, and the control of international trade in narcotics. There was sufficient agreement on the principles set forth in the survey to enable the Economic and Social Council to proceed. It has requested the Secretary-General to draft the new convention in skeleton form and to distribute copies to the members of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

Pending the adoption of the proposed new convention, which will probably take considerable time, the possibility of reaching a temporary agreement to limit the production and export of opium is being studied. On the invitation of the Government of Turkey, representatives of four of the five countries principally producing opium for medicinal purposes—India, Iran, Turkey, and Yugoslavia (the Soviet Union was not represented)—met at Ankara, November 21, 1949, and considered methods of allocating opium exports, the establishment of complete government monopolies, and the advisability of creating an international purchasing and selling agency. The agreements reached will be referred in the spring of 1950 to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs for consideration.

The United Nations also has sent to Peru and Bolivia on the invitation of those countries a Commission to study the effects of chewing coca leaves and the question of limiting their production. If it is determined that coca leaf chewing is harmful, inclusion in the proposed new convention of provisions limiting the production of coca leaves to medical and scientific requirements will be considered.

During the year the United States offered and the United Nations accepted the use of laboratory facilities at New York City for research work to ascertain by physical and chemical means the country of origin of opium seized by enforcement officers. This work will materially assist governments in suppressing the illegal international movement of narcotic drugs.

3. REFUGEES AND STATELESS PERSONS

The outstanding achievement of the United Nations in behalf of refugees during 1949 was the progress made by the International Refugee Organization in resettlement. In the 12 months between September 30, 1948, and September 30, 1949, 366,000 displaced persons were resettled. This was a substantial increase over the 15 months between July 1, 1947, and September 30, 1948, when 256,000 were resettled. The total resettled under Iro auspices up to December 31, 1949, is 690,000. The handling of so many refugees and displaced persons called for the use of all possible means of transport to move them from camps and assembly centers to their new homes. Special trains carried them to European ports from which, at the peak of operations, a ship a day left for overseas destinations. Not all of this great problem is centered in Europe, though it is largely there; some refugees remain in Shanghai, and 3,000 are in temporary asylum on the island of Samar in the Philippines. The problem of Arab refugees from Palestine is a separate and wholly post-war problem.¹

From July 1, 1947, when the Preparatory Commission for the Iro assumed operations, through December 31, 1949, the United States received 150,000 displaced persons, of whom 130,000 entered under the provisions of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. During the same period the United Kingdom received 83,000 displaced persons, Australia 105,000, and Canada 77,000. Israel received 116,000. The amendments which the Administration had sought to the United States Displaced Persons Act of 1948 having failed of enactment by the Congress in 1949, the entry of displaced persons into the United States continued under certain administrative difficulties. Proposed changes, however, are being considered by the Congress in 1950.

Repatriation of refugees to their countries of origin in Eastern Europe continued—in contrast with resettlement—at a diminishing rate during 1949. Whereas on September 30, 1948, the operation of the previous 15 months had resulted in the repatriation of approximately 57,000 persons, this total increased to only 67,000 during the next 12 months. In this regard it may be recalled that the fundamental principle of the Iro is that no one should be returned to his country of origin who has valid objections to return.

By the spring of 1949 it became evident that active planning should begin for the termination of Iro. It was believed that careful preparation was necessary to assure that no gap in protection for refugees should occur between the termination of Iro and the assumption of this responsibility by the General Assembly of the United

¹ See p. 40.

Nations. In this respect it was especially necessary to resolve the conflict between the views of the countries of Western Europe that relief to indigent refugees should continue to be an international responsibility after the termination of Iro, and the view of the United States that the time has come for individual countries themselves to assume the burden of assistance for the reduced numbers of refugees remaining in their territories.

At the meeting of the Council of the Iro in October, it became clear that there would remain after June 30, 1950, approximately 250,000 refugees; for approximately 100,000 of whom provision for continuing care would need to be made, and for approximately 150,000 of whom resettlement overseas would still be possible. Consequently, the General Council decided that Iro should continue for a period of 9 months after June 30, 1950, in order to make provision for the nonresettleable refugees and to complete the resettlement movement. For this purpose the Council adopted a total budget for operations for the added period in the amount of \$55,165,446. Included in this budget is an item of \$12 million to provide permanent care for nonresettleable refugees (bringing to \$22 million the total to be spent by Iro for this purpose). The United States Representative stated the intention to seek from Congress the necessary United States contribution of \$25 million for the added period.¹

The protection of civil status required for refugees and stateless persons in countries where they cannot quickly acquire citizenship consists of international watchfulness and report in order to insure their treatment on a nondiscriminatory basis. Tasks of special concern include the issuance of travel documents, access to courts, social insurance benefits, the right to work, privileges of education, and the right to remain in a country of asylum. Also involved is the question of whether funds for the material assistance of refugees should be provided internationally after the termination of Iro.

The United States argued strongly in the General Assembly in November and December 1949, for the carrying out of these functions of protection under a High Commissioner under the authority of the General Assembly. The persons coming under the scope of his competence would, in the United States view, be those refugees and displaced persons defined in the Iro constitution and such other groups of refugees as the General Assembly might from time to time determine. In regard to the functions of the High Commissioner, the United States considered that he should carry on the function of protection but should not engage in administering material assistance to the refugees or directly in repatriation and resettlement.

¹ For the budget of the year ending June 30, 1950, see appendix 1, p. 230.

Certain other delegations wished to extend the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner to include all persons who met the traditional definition of refugees, that is, persons who were outside their own countries and who, in law or in fact, did not enjoy the protection of any government. At the same time, they wished to include the administration of material assistance among the High Commissioner's functions. Other delegations wished the High Commissioner to participate directly in the repatriation and resettlement of refugees.

The United States took the view that reference to such wider functions would only raise false hopes because of the unlikelihood that the necessary funds would be forthcoming. It was pointed out that the Congress could not be expected to continue to vote appropriations for assistance of an unknown magnitude, and accordingly, the United States Government did not wish to be placed in a position where it would be subjected to constant appeals for assistance. The Iro would come to an end upon the considered judgment of its members that its task had been completed; it should not be recreated under another form.

The position desired by the United States with regard to the persons to be under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner was largely satisfied by the terms adopted by the General Assembly. These made the Iro definitions applicable for the time being, and thereafter the categories of refugees to be covered should be such as the General Assembly might from time to time determine. The assistance clause, which authorized the High Commissioner to distribute for purposes of assistance among private and official agencies such funds as he might receive, was safeguarded, the United States felt, by an additional provision that the High Commissioner should not appeal to governments or make general appeals to nongovernmental sources without the prior approval of the General Assembly. However, language which gave the High Commissioner the authority to engage in such repatriation and resettlement activities as the General Assembly might later determine was retained in the resolution.

A detailed plan will next be prepared by the Secretary-General, circulated to governments for comment and submitted to the Economic and Social Council in July 1950. Thereafter, it will go to the General Assembly in the fall of 1950.

4. HELP TO CHILDREN

The principal activities of the United Nations relating to children have been carried on by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, and by the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council in connection with its family, youth, and child welfare program.

At the end of 1949, the Fund was operating in 13 European countries, 14 countries and territories in the Far East, 6 countries in the Middle East, and in 11 Latin American countries. It has received wide cooperation except in certain countries under Communist domination. The programs of the Fund include one or more of the following types: infant and school feeding in depressed areas; antituberculosis and antimalaria programs; provision of raw materials for processing into layettes, shoes, socks, and jackets for children; construction and equipping of milk conservation plants; and scholarship and training programs for doctors, nurses, and social workers in social pediatrics.

Slowly but surely during this year the Fund built its feeding programs to span 13 countries in Europe, China, India, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and the Palestine area, and in addition gave help to children caught in the Ecuador disaster. Milk, or "white coffee" as the children first called it, was the basis of over two billion supplementary meals provided by the Fund. The medical programs of the Fund, carried on in cooperation with the World Health Organization, have rendered an important contribution to child health.¹ By the Fund's training courses, professionals in child care are being given up-to-date facts in their field.

As of November 1949, the Fund had received from all sources, private and governmental, \$141,500,000. Of the \$75,000,000 appropriated last year by the United States Congress for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—which was given on a matching basis under a 72 to 28 percent formula, or \$2.45 in United States dollars for the equivalent of every dollar contributed by other countries in supplies or currency—approximately \$70,000,000 has now been drawn upon.

In July 1949, the United States Congress passed Public Law 170 which extended the deadline on the availability of United States matching funds to June 30, 1950, and expressed the intent that United States participation in the Fund should cease as of that date.

The possible early dissolution of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund owing to the passing of the postwar emergency has pointed up the desirability of clarifying the means whereby attention to the continuing needs of children might be assured on a permanent basis within the framework of the United Nations. On the proposal of the United States, a study of these continuing needs by the Children's Fund, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the interested specialized agencies is underway.

The United Nations Secretariat under the guidance of the Social Commission has now in various stages of preparation a draft declaration on the rights of the child, a survey of certain aspects of child

¹ See above, p. 125.

welfare and reeducation of physically and mentally handicapped children, a study of the best methods of administering assistance and social services for needy families, and a study of the methods of social welfare administration in various countries.

5. SOCIAL WELFARE

The social welfare activities of the United Nations are of deep interest as a means of advancing the social well-being increasingly desired by all nations. During 1949 these activities included advisory welfare services, studies relating to social welfare, action on prevention of crime, on housing, on aboriginal populations, and the adoption of a convention on suppression of traffic in women and children.

In view of the number of requests to the United Nations for advisory social welfare services and the usefulness of this program to governments, the General Assembly decided this year that the program should be placed on a continuing basis. It was also decided that provision for advisory social welfare services should be included in the United Nations budget in the future. This program provides technical assistance in such special aspects as public welfare administration, social insurance, child welfare, and vocational rehabilitation; furnishing of experts in these fields to governments for consultation; fellowships for suitably qualified officials to study and observe programs abroad; literature and demonstration material for training purposes; and organization of regional seminars on selected questions. During this year, 14 consultants served in 9 countries, and fellowships were granted to 188 persons in 31 countries. Thirty-eight fellows came to the United States as their country of choice for training. Demonstration equipment, literature, and films were made available to 15 countries. Two social welfare seminars were held, one for countries of the Middle East at Beirut and one for European countries at Paris. The amount authorized for these services in 1949 was \$675,000, or approximately the same amount as for previous years.

The Social Commission's program of study in the field of prevention of crime and treatment of offenders advanced appreciably this year. This program, which has been reviewed by the Secretary-General's expert committee on the matter and by the Social Commission, covers three types of study. The first consists of subjects on which research is under way: juvenile delinquency; medical, psychiatric, and social examination of offenders; probation and related measures; and criminal statistics. The second concerns subjects which should receive top priority of study: short-term imprisonment; installment payment of fines; presentence detention of adults; parole and after care; indeterminate sentence; habitual offenders; selection and training of

personnel; and open penal correctional institutions. Other studies to be undertaken as soon as feasible make up the third type.

A report on ways in which an integrated program in the field of housing and town and country planning might be carried out by the United Nations was prepared during 1949 by the Secretary-General on request of the Economic and Social Council and has been submitted to various organs of the United Nations and to member governments for comment. The report endeavors to reflect the interests and activities of the commissions, specialized agencies, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organs concerned in this field, and aims at insuring that all relevant aspects of housing are covered without any unnecessary or substantial overlapping and without any duplication of work. Study of this document is being made the basis for determining further action by the United Nations. Another step taken was the authorization given by the General Assembly for the convening in 1950 of a group of experts in an appropriate tropical area, for the purpose of considering technical questions relating to housing for low-income groups in the humid tropics.

The United Nations energetically undertook in its autumn session to extend the work done by the League of Nations toward the suppression of traffic in women and children. With a view to unifying the provisions of international conventions in this field concluded in 1904 (to which the United States is a party), in 1910, in 1921, and in 1933, and building upon a draft prepared by the League in 1937, the General Assembly adopted this autumn a new draft convention for the suppression of traffic in persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others. The new convention had been developed in the Social Commission and considered by the Economic and Social Council at its ninth session.

This convention, in addition to carrying forward commitments of earlier treaties with respect to administrative cooperation in the suppression of the international traffic in persons, obligates signatories to punish procurers and keepers of houses of prostitution. It also requires elimination of any licensing and medical certification of prostitutes. In these respects, legislative action in the United States is within the province of its several States, and accordingly the United States pressed for a Federal-State clause limiting in such spheres the obligation of the United States Government to the making of recommendations to the States of the Union and to such other action as falls within Federal jurisdiction. In the Legal Committee of the General Assembly, it was recognized that such a clause would be appropriate for inclusion in the convention, but the only proposals for a clause voted on failed of adoption. The Third Committee, in which the convention as a whole was debated, voted against further

consideration of the problem in the form in which it was presented to it. Owing to the resulting lack of a Federal-State clause, the United States abstained in the final vote and declared that it could not become a signatory to the convention.

Difficulties were also presented by the convention to countries with international responsibility for colonial territories, since the convention as adopted does not provide for consultation with the governments of such dependent areas as enjoy self-government in the matters involved and for their consent where appropriate. Another point of concern to a substantial group of countries was the deletion from the convention of a clause recognizing that a signatory might require that the motive of gain be established in the prosecution of procurers.

Although the convention as adopted obviously creates difficulties for various states, international cooperation in the field is expected to continue. For the United States, of course, there is already legislation in the chief fields covered by the convention. The White Slave Traffic Act of 1910 provides criminal sanction in the field of international and interstate traffic in persons, and the United States will in any case continue its cooperation with other countries on this subject and likewise seek to take all appropriate measures to deal with the problem of prostitution within its own territories.

6. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Within the United Nations, international cooperation on educational, scientific, and cultural matters is the principal concern of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Under the forceful leadership of its new Director-General, Jaime Torres Bodet, who took office this year, UNESCO focused its work increasingly on three major goals: the raising of national standards in education, science, and the arts and letters; promotion of international understanding; and interchange of information to facilitate the international sharing of advanced techniques and the spread of knowledge. At the Fourth General Conference of UNESCO, in Paris, September-October 1949, the United States Delegation urged that the program be more concentrated and oriented more directly with the main stream of the work of the United Nations and the other specialized agencies.

The task of fusing an integrated cultural program out of varying national needs and aspirations is as difficult as it is necessary in an area so inherently unbounded as cultural relations. Most of the activities of the United Nations relate to comparatively specific fields of work, while cultural activities are by nature less tangible and definable. They are, however, of concern to the entire United Nations in

that they promote wider appreciation of the purposes and accomplishments of the United Nations and contribute to the fundamental thought and attitudes of nations toward international peace.

In education, the year's work was marked by the assistance rendered to various member governments which requested expert advice in connection with improving their educational systems. At the request of the Governments of the Philippines, Thailand, and Afghanistan, UNESCO dispatched missions of educational experts to survey their primary and secondary school problems and to make recommendations. Similar missions have now been requested by other governments. Fundamental education, which is chiefly directed toward the elimination of illiteracy, received major attention. A "pilot project" in fundamental education was started in Haiti, and on a number of other similar projects operated by governments UNESCO is collaborating by providing a clearinghouse service for educational information and consultants on the projects. International study conferences on adult education in rural areas were held in India and Brazil. A model plan for the analysis and improvement of textbooks and other teaching materials has been issued. Establishment of international organizations of political scientists and sociologists has been strongly encouraged. In addition, UNESCO has continued its work of enlisting the services of volunteer private organizations in various countries to assist by grants of supplies in the reconstruction or rehabilitation of universities, libraries, laboratories, and museums in war-devastated countries.

A basic aim of the current program is to enable people to understand the ways of life of other peoples, how their attitudes are formed, and how international tensions develop. Ultimately, the aim is to devise positive means of counteracting distorted national concepts which hinder international understanding. In these respects, UNESCO, in collaboration with various international nongovernmental organizations, has completed a study of the concepts held in different cultures about the meaning of democracy and also the first stage of a comparative study of cultures.

In the natural sciences, UNESCO's interest extends from the interchange of facts and ideas regarding conservation of natural resources to the interchange of the findings of scientific research. The science offices established by UNESCO in Uruguay, China, India, and Egypt are assisting the countries in these regions in obtaining a wide variety of scientific information, as for example, the availability of scientific apparatus. During the year the International Council of Scientific Unions and its constituent unions, assisted by a \$200,000 grant from UNESCO, continued their program of international scientific conferences and aided in the work of scientific services and

laboratories. A study has been started looking toward the establishment of an institute of the arid zones, modeled on the Institute of the Hylean Amazon which UNESCO also helped to establish, to explore in collaboration with other international organizations the resources and development possibilities of desert areas. A campaign to encourage solutions of the world's food and population problems was conducted by means of publications and group discussions in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

In the arts and letters, plans were laid for the establishment of an international music council, similar to the International Theater Institute which is now in full operation, to promote international collaboration in the field of music. Catalogs of fine color reproductions of famous paintings were issued. Expert committees in various countries were designated to assist in the preparation of lists of the world's great literary classics, with a view to their translation and publication in inexpensive editions. Assistance to museums and libraries by publishing catalogs and exchange lists has continued.

Two large activities of UNESCO cross all its fields of activity: the exchange of persons for educational purposes, and the dissemination of information about its work and goals. During the year, UNESCO offered some 175 fellowships for study abroad, many of which were contributed by governments and private organizations, and administered about 50 others. It also published an international handbook entitled *Study Abroad*, which lists approximately 16,000 available fellowships and other forms of grants for study.

UNESCO began this year to utilize press, radio, and film facilities throughout the world to provide information about its program and objectives. The UNESCO *Radio Review*, a periodical progress report on world developments in education, science, and the arts suitable for radio broadcasting, was started during the year. The Organization also continued its world survey of deficiencies in press, radio, and film technical facilities, and members of the secretariat represented the Organization at meetings of various international bodies to recommend measures for alleviating the shortages revealed by the survey. In the field of freedom of information a draft agreement to facilitate the international circulation of audio-visual education aids was opened for signature, and the secretariat prepared drafts of other agreements covering additional educational material.

The United States National Commission for UNESCO, established by an act of Congress to advise this Government on UNESCO matters, continued its many activities in support of UNESCO's program. An outstanding achievement was the highly successful national conference of UNESCO at Cleveland, March 30 to April 1, in which representatives of some 800 national organizations participated.

D. Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

No issue is more significant in the postwar period than that raised by the question whether human beings will in fact enjoy basic rights and fundamental freedoms everywhere. This question constitutes a sure test by which the degree of enlightened progress for the individual and for a peaceful and prosperous world order with freedom and justice in the history of the modern world can and doubtless will be measured.

The free nations of the world assert that the powers of the state cannot of right extend to the denial of these rights and freedoms to the individual or to their arbitrary limitation beyond the bounds essential to assure to all citizens or subjects the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms in equal degree. The contrary view, that the state properly may determine what is good for the citizen and that the individual exists for the advancement of the objectives of a state or class alone, is asserted by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites as it was and is asserted by Fascist, National-Socialist, and other proponents of totalitarian doctrines.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is the focal point of all the efforts of the United Nations to promote and assure human freedom. Actually, all organs of the United Nations touch in greater or less degree upon this same subject of human rights, for it lies at the root of all the aspects of effective organized cooperation among nations in carrying out the United Nations Charter.

There were five main lines of effort in this field during 1949: certain problems concerning the International Covenant on Human Rights, freedom of information, status of women, genocide, and prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities. On all of these, the object was to obtain essential agreements in the form of basic documents and to point the way towards the implementation of agreements already reached.

A reference must be made here to the problem of observance of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania which arose in the General Assembly during the year 1949. The aspect presented for action was political in character and involved judicial interpretation of the provisions for implementation of the terms of the treaties of peace by which the status of war with these countries had been terminated two years ago. Accordingly, the problem is described elsewhere in this report, in connection with other problems which are predominantly political.¹

¹ See p. 58.

I. INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1948, the United Nations clarified the nature and conception of human rights in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights and formulated a final draft of an international covenant on human rights. This draft was revised by the Commission on Human Rights in the spring of 1949. It sets forth civil and political rights well known to tradition and law in the United States and many other countries. They include the right to life: protection against torture, slavery, forced labor, and arbitrary arrest and detention; freedom of movement and residence; the right to leave a country and to return to one's country; the right to a fair and public hearing before an independent and impartial tribunal; protection against *ex post facto* laws; the right to recognition as a person before the law; freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and association; and equal protection under the law.

The draft covenant is being prepared in the form of a treaty and when finally approved by the General Assembly will be opened for signature and ratification by member governments of the United Nations. It can of course be binding only on countries which ratify it. In contrast to the covenant, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the General Assembly in December 1948, was not drafted in the form of a treaty but in the form of a "declaration" setting forth a standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. It accordingly is not a legally binding document, although it has strong moral force.

When the Commission on Human Rights reconvenes in March 1950, it will consider the comments submitted by the 59 members with respect to the revised draft covenant and recommend measures for implementation of the covenant. It proposes to complete these parts of its work in time for consideration by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly in the following fall.

Three main views appeared in the Commission in the spring of 1949 on the form of implementation which ought to be provided for the covenant. One view was that provision should be made for the right of individuals to file petitions relating to violations by states under the covenant. This was supported by Australia, France, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, the Philippines, and Uruguay. The second view—supported by China, Egypt, Iran, the United Kingdom, and the United States—was that no provision should be made at this time for the right of individuals to file petitions but that, instead, provision should be made initially only for states to file complaints against other states for violations of the covenant. The third view, supported by the

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia, was that no provision whatsoever should be made for implementation machinery on the ground mainly that to do so would interfere with national sovereignty. The Commission did not have sufficient time in its spring session to complete its consideration, but it agreed by a vote of 10 to 2 that, in any event, the states parties to the covenant should have the right to enter complaints against other states with respect to violations under the covenant. Of the representatives present, only the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukraine voted against this decision.

The draft covenant sets forth only basic civil and political rights, but the Commission has decided that at its 1950 session it will consider the proposals of France, Australia, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to add new articles to those already in the draft covenant. France has proposed that an article concerning the rehabilitation of prisoners be added. The proposal of Australia is to add articles relating to nationality, education, and social and economic matters. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics desires the addition of articles concerning self-determination, minorities, participation in government, education, and social and economic matters. When these proposals are considered in 1950, the Commission will have before it a report now being prepared by the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning activities of other bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies bearing on the subject matter of the proposed articles.

In connection with these developments, it may be noted that the United Nations publishes an annual *Yearbook on Human Rights* which records progress in all the fields of human rights as reported by member governments. The early editions, beginning with that for 1946, carried basic constitutional and legislative provisions, and these are being brought up to date annually by including amendments and additions as these appear from year to year. This compilation is proving to be valuable for comparison and understanding of efforts to promote human rights. As yet the *Yearbook* has not contained pertinent judicial decisions. On the initiative of the United States, the Commission on Human Rights has recommended to the Economic and Social Council that information on judicial decisions be included, and the Council will consider this recommendation in 1950.

2. FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The efforts being made in the United Nations to obtain wider acceptance of the right of every person to freedom of expression and to facilitate the international circulation of news and other information

have obtained wide support. Sharp points of difference, however, have emerged with respect to several concrete issues.

It will be recalled from earlier reports that these efforts originated largely with the initiative taken by the United States and that a United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information met in the spring of 1948 and formulated a number of important draft conventions and recommendations. These received attention in the United Nations during 1949 by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press.

At its spring session, the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 33 to 6 (the Soviet Union and the satellite states), with 13 abstentions, the Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction. This convention amalgamated two draft conventions sponsored separately by the United States and France at the Conference on Freedom of Information. The first part, of United States origin, sets forth certain rights for informational agencies and foreign correspondents, such as speedy action on administrative procedures in connection with their entry, residence, and travel in the territory of contracting states, protection against expulsion for what they may report, and wider access to news sources. Under it, censorship when necessary in peacetime must be limited to grounds "relating directly to national defense." The second part, of French origin, establishes a procedure whereby governments may obtain publicity for official corrections of news reports alleged to be false and harmful to their international relations. There is no obligation to require publication of such corrections. However, if a complaining government feels that the government complained against has not carried out its responsibilities under the convention, the complaining government may send its correction to the Secretary-General of the United Nations who must then publish the correction in a United Nations press release.

This convention is not yet open for signature, pending final disposition at the 1950 session of the General Assembly of the draft convention on freedom of information which also was prepared by the Conference on Freedom of Information. The intention of the latter convention is to guarantee to the nationals of every contracting state freedom of expression and freedom to seek and receive information from all sources without governmental interference. The Third Committee of the General Assembly debated this second convention briefly in the spring of 1949 and was compelled to defer further consideration until the fall session because of serious disagreement over its provisions. So many proposals for restrictive governmental controls over freedom of information were proposed that many delegations feared that the convention—intended to guarantee freedom of

information—was actually being transformed into one which would legitimize restrictive governmental controls over this freedom.

Accordingly, the United States Delegation at the beginning of the fall session of the Assembly urged postponement of further action on this draft convention until the Commission on Human Rights had incorporated adequate provisions on freedom of information in the draft international covenant on human rights. Agreement in this sense was reached. When the draft covenant is accordingly amended and submitted in 1950, the Assembly will have to decide whether or not a separate convention on freedom of information is still felt to be desirable. It is assumed that the Assembly at that session will take a final decision to open for signature the related Newsgathering Convention, already completed and ready for such action.

In March of 1949, the Economic and Social Council, acting on another recommendation of the Conference on Freedom of Information, decided to continue the United Nations Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press for another 3 years and to give it wider terms of reference. When the Subcommission met in the spring of 1949 for the first time under these new terms of reference, it adopted a promising program of work looking toward studies of the adequacy of the news available to the peoples of the world and recommendations for improving the international flow and quality of news. At the same time studies of economic and technical obstacles to the free flow of information were undertaken by UNESCO. The Subcommission consists of 12 experts who serve in their personal capacities, not as representatives of governments.

3. GENOCIDE CONVENTION

The destruction of the Jewish people in Germany was deliberately sought by the Nazi regime and was a shocking revelation to the entire civilized world of the basic nature of that regime. In the course of years thereafter, there arose a widespread determination that such a crime must be prevented under an effective international instrument. Developments in this direction have been described in earlier reports up to the point where the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide had been approved unanimously by the General Assembly in December 1948.

This convention, of which the United States is a signatory, was transmitted to the Senate in June 1949 with a request for the consent of the Senate to its ratification. The United States had been active in the preparation by the United Nations of this international instrument intended to outlaw effectively the world-shocking crime of genocide. The ratification of the convention will complete the firm

and clear policy which this Government has followed of condemning all crimes of genocide and seeking to assure their prevention.

Under the convention genocide is defined to mean an act committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group. Persons committing such an act would become liable to punishment whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals. The contracting parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the convention. Persons charged with any of the crimes of genocide shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state or territory in which the act was committed. No international body is established by the convention for trial of persons charged with genocide, and accordingly the ratification of the Convention would not obligate any country to release anyone for trial before an international body. However, at the request of the General Assembly, the International Law Commission has undertaken to study the possibility of establishing an international judicial body for the trial of persons charged with genocide.

Forty-three countries have signed the convention and five have ratified it, as of December 31, 1949. It will come into force 90 days after its ratification by 20 countries.

4. STATUS OF WOMEN

Equality of men and women is a principle so largely accepted in the United States and a number of other countries as to be the customary rule in public activities. This principle and especially its application, however, are matters still in various stages of development in most other countries. United Nations efforts in this field are centered in the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

The first objective of this Commission is the extension of equal suffrage to women throughout the world. At its third session, which met in Beirut, Lebanon, in March 1949, it noted the recent attainment by the women of Belgium and Chile of full equality with men in the right to vote and hold public office; since then Syria also has extended suffrage to women on a restricted basis.

Another objective is a new international convention to remove some of the hardships arising from conflicts of domestic laws relating to the nationality of married women. Because of the greater movement of persons during and after the war, this problem has become more general than formerly but it is not a new one. The United States is already a party to the Montevideo Convention of 1933, which provides that there shall be no distinction on the basis of sex as regards nationality.

A third objective is the extension of educational opportunities for women. These obviously are basic to their capacity for effective citizenship. Studies of discriminations against women in educational and professional training have revealed that while relatively few countries place legal restrictions on women's education, there are many countries in which girls do not attend school to the same extent or as long as boys. The Commission on the Status of Women this year suggested that UNESCO assist by studying the actual conditions and reasons for such differences, in the hope that as countries themselves become aware of the needs of women in their areas, more can be done to encourage full opportunity for all. UNESCO has already undertaken this study.

The shortage of nurses and of other medical personnel raises another question. It has been suggested that the World Health Organization assist by determining the areas where the greatest shortages exist and encouraging increased facilities and scholarship assistance for the training of nurses and doctors in these areas. The scholarship programs of the World Health Organization are open equally to men and women.

Another issue of increasing importance to women is equal pay for equal work. This year the Commission made further suggestions to the International Labor Organization, which is making a study of the practices of countries in regard to public-paid employment, and of legislation in effect to prevent discrimination in wages and salaries on the basis of sex.

5. MINORITIES

The prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities is a subject of persistent concern in the United Nations. The Commission on Human Rights early established a Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. This Subcommission, which held its initial meeting in 1947, met for the second time in June of 1949. It is an expert body, composed of 13 persons appointed in their individual capacities with the approval of their governments.

The Subcommission has recommended that, in the interest of enabling recognized minority groups to maintain their cultural heritage when they desire to do so, governments of states having minorities representing a considerable proportion of the total population should provide adequate facilities for the use in judicial procedures of the languages of such groups, and for the teaching in state-supported schools of languages of such groups if the groups so request and their request expresses the spontaneous desire of the minorities. These rights, in the view of the Subcommission, should not be used to threaten

or undermine the unity or security of a state. The Subcommittee considered that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the projected international covenant on human rights would provide protection for such traditional rights as freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and association. In addition, the Subcommittee has proposed that information should be assembled by the Secretary-General relating to the protection of minorities and their status for the consideration of the Subcommittee, and it has requested nongovernmental organizations to provide relevant information to the Subcommittee relating to discrimination.

The Commission on Human Rights at its March 1950 session will consider the proposals.

PART III

Dependent Territories

SOME OF the most important activities of the United Nations are those which relate to the approximately 10 percent of the world's peoples not fully self-governed. Such peoples and the dependent territories in which they live have recently gained a new significance, partly as a result of the war and partly because of the widened scope of international concern that characterizes the modern age as a whole. The terms of chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter have provided a basis for the expression by a large majority of members of the United Nations, to a degree never approached in the past, of their interest in the social and political advancement of such areas.

This interest was reflected in 1949 by the nature and frequency of meetings devoted to this subject, by the range of the discussion, by the contending views which arose, and by the number of resolutions adopted on work under way or to be pursued. The General Assembly's Fourth Committee alone held 56 meetings during the 1949 General Assembly as compared to 37 in the previous year. It adopted a total of 19 resolutions in this field, several of which have importance not only in regard to their subjects directly but also to international relations generally.

In its two sessions in 1949 the Trusteeship Council considered 8 annual reports from the trust territories, examined 46 new petitions, and dispatched a visiting mission to the four West African trust territories of British and French Cameroons and British and French Togoland. The United States was represented in the two General Assembly sessions this year by John Foster Dulles and Judge Charles Fahy, respectively. In the Trusteeship Council it was represented by Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, and in the visiting mission by Benjamin Gerig, the Deputy United States Representative in the Council.

The activities described below fall into two broad aspects: those concerning trusteeship territories, and those concerning colonial and other non-self-governing territories.

A. Action to Promote the Advancement of the Peoples of Trust Territories

There are approximately 17 million inhabitants in the 10 territories now administered under the international trusteeship system—a population roughly equal to that of the State of New York. As already indicated in earlier pages of this report, the General Assembly took steps in 1949 toward the placing of an eleventh territory, Italian Somaliland, under the international trusteeship system, and has asked the Trusteeship Council to revise and implement the draft statute for Jerusalem under which the Jerusalem area would be administered by the Council on behalf of the United Nations.

I. TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The first annual report by the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was examined by the Trusteeship Council during its session early in the autumn. The Trust Territory consists of the Marshall, the Caroline, and the Mariana Islands groups except Guam. These constitute the major portion of Micronesia, and include such well-known islands as Kwajalein, Truk, and Saipan.

The islands are spread over a sea area of nearly 3 million square miles but contain a total land area of only 687 square miles. Geologically they are of two types: high and low islands. The high islands are peaks of volcanic formation, while the low islands are of coral formation. Sixty-four of the ninety-six distinct islands or island groups are inhabited. The total population is approximately 53,000. The people form at least eight different cultural groups, each with its own language. These groups tend to preserve their separate identities, and the degree of social and political development varies widely from island to island.

As will be recalled the United States has been the administering authority of this trust territory since July 18, 1947. This is the only trust territory of the United Nations designated as a strategic area. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas under the trusteeship system are exercised by the Security Council rather than by the General Assembly as in the case of the other trust territories. The only action taken by the Security Council this year in regard to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, however, was to request in a resolution adopted March 7, 1949, the Trusteeship Council to undertake as regards strategic trust territories the functions of the trusteeship system specified in articles 87 and 88 of the Charter relating to

political, economic, social, and educational matters. The United States report on its administration of the territory was accordingly referred to the Trusteeship Council.

This report, which covered the period of July 18, 1947, to June 30, 1948, was well received. The United States was commended by the Trusteeship Council for the progress made in the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants and for the full nature of the information submitted in the report and in the supplementary data provided during the discussion by Rear Admiral Leon S. Fiske, U. S. Navy, the Deputy High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, who was present as the special representative of the United States. The representative of the Soviet Union on the Council alone was condemnatory in commenting upon conditions in the Trust Territory.

The Trusteeship Council approved 15 recommendations in regard to the Territory.¹ The general recommendations, in addition to the commendation previously mentioned, took note of the fact that the United States is considering the transfer of the seat of government of the Trust Territory from Guam to a site within the Territory itself and indicated its approval of such a move. A recommendation was made that the United States increase its efforts to develop regional governmental organs on a representative and elective basis, and that it endeavor to bring representatives of the indigenous population into the territorial government if only in an advisory capacity in the initial stages. The Council specifically recommended that the United States press forward with the establishment of a regional organ of government for the Marianas.

During the Council's discussions on the possibility of developing territory-wide institutions of self-government in the trust territory, the Special Representative of the United States pointed out that virtually no feeling of common interest exists throughout the trust territory and therefore a territory-wide government by the peoples themselves is not now feasible. The administration for this reason has concentrated its efforts on the establishment of local self-governing municipalities and the development of regional organs of self-government. The Special Representative called attention to the already established regional advisory body known as the Palau Congress and to the plans for establishing a similar council in the Marshall Islands.

On other matters in the field of political advancement, the Council noted with gratification that the United States has under preparation an organic act for the territory; welcomed the steps taken by the administering authority to bring about the separation of administrative and

¹ U. N. Doc. S/1358, Part II, 29 July 1949.

judicial powers and expressed the hope that wherever practical further steps would be taken to effect the separation; welcomed the efforts of the administration to establish democratic organs of purely local government; and expressed hope that further steps might be taken to insure that the will of the people rather than hereditary considerations would prevail in elections and appointments of native inhabitants to such organs.

In the economic field, the Council welcomed a declaration made by the Representative of the United States that, in its administration of the trust territory, the United States seeks no financial gain or advantage for itself or its nationals. It also welcomed the stated policies of the administering authority to protect inhabitants against loss of their land and to institute a sound program of economic development along lines intended to insure that profits and benefits would accrue to the inhabitants and be utilized to assist them in achieving the highest possible level of economic independence. As the Special Representative pointed out, the war had caused widespread destruction in the territory, and the withdrawal of the Japanese had disorganized existing patterns of activity and created an economic vacuum. In certain areas this disruption of economic life was made more severe by the repatriation of the Okinawans from the trust territory. The fishing industry was dependent upon the Japanese and Okinawans, as was all large-scale agriculture such as sugar cane and the operation of several large copra plantations.

Prior to the war, fishing had been carried on in the Territory by Japanese as well as by Korean and Okinawan fishermen. The Micronesians carry on subsistence fishing within the lagoons and reefs, but at present do not have the technical equipment and skill to undertake the commercial deep-sea fishing necessary for the establishment of a large-scale industry. Nevertheless, fishing represents a potential resource of the Territory and the administration has stated the principles upon which commercial companies would be permitted to develop the marine resources of the Territory. The Trusteeship Council urged the United States, before granting any permits to outside fishing companies, to explore again the possibility and practicability of developing the fishing industry as a purely indigenous enterprise with assistance from the administering authority itself.

Copra has been the chief source of income for the Territory. The Council noted the arrangements by which copra is purchased from the inhabitants by the Island Trading Company, an instrumentality of the Trust Territory government, and recommended that the administering authority keep those arrangements under constant review in order to assure copra producers a fair return for their industry.

The Council was also concerned with the arrangements in force on

Angaur Island for the mining of phosphate rock and its export to Japan. The mining of this mineral is under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. A royalty of 25 cents per ton is paid into a fund to be used for the benefit of the people whose lands are affected. The Council recommended that the administering authority give this arrangement further study and, in the light of this review, reassure the Council that the interests of the Territory and its inhabitants have been safeguarded.

A further recommendation in the economic field was that the administering authority keep the taxation system in the Territory constantly under review with a view to the ultimate abolition of the head tax and the substitution of a more progressive system of taxation based upon the capacity of the individual to pay.

As regards social advancement, the destruction caused by the war and the resultant lack of economic activity has left the living standards below those of prewar level. On this aspect of trusteeship responsibilities, the Council recommended that the administering authority take such steps as were practicable to raise the standard of living.

The United States achievement in establishing primary schools throughout the Trust Territory and a teachers' training school in the Truk Atoll received favorable comment. The Council foresaw, however, that secondary schools would be needed and consequently recommended that the United States consider the possibility of their establishment to meet the developing needs of the Territory. The Council further noted that several students from the Territory were attending school in Hawaii and the continental United States for higher education, and urged the United States to continue this program.

The care with which the Trusteeship Council studied the United States report and the attention it gave to matters both of broad policy and details of administration are characteristic of the attitude taken by the Council in making its serious and sustained effort to carry out to the fullest degree the Charter provisions in this field.

2. ACTION TO CARRY OUT TRUSTEESHIP RESPONSIBILITIES

The work undertaken by administering authorities and the United Nations in general toward fulfillment of international responsibilities toward the peoples of trust territories had seven main aspects this year: annual reports, political and educational advancement, petitions, visiting missions, administrative unions, and the use of the United Nations flag in trust territories.

Annual Reports. Reports on all trust territories are submitted to the Trusteeship Council annually by their respective administering authorities. They are based on a questionnaire sent to the authorities by the Council. The examination of these annual reports goes to the heart of the work of the Council, and it is from them and additional data supplied by the administering authorities during their examination that the Council obtains most of the information on which it determines its suggestions and recommendations.

Eight annual reports, each from a separate trust territory, were received and examined by the Council in its two sessions in 1949 (its fourth and fifth). This contrasts with a total of five at the previous three sessions. The reports covered the following trust territories: Cameroons under British administration; Cameroons under French administration; Togoland under British administration; Togoland under French administration; Western Samoa; New Guinea; Nauru; and the above-described Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A special representative of each administering authority was present at Lake Success to furnish supplemental information requested by members of the Council. Attention of the Council focused primarily on the reports covering the West African trust territories of British Togoland and Cameroons, and French Togoland and Cameroons. These territories, having some 5 million inhabitants, were former German colonies partitioned following World War I and placed under the Mandates System of the League of Nations.

The United States Delegation took the position in considering the reports that the Council in making recommendations could best conduct its work in an orderly and effective way by confining itself to a small number of major problems, thus in effect setting up goals for the administering authority to work toward during the coming year. While the United States was unsuccessful in obtaining acceptance of its position, the Council consequently adopted in its fourth session a lengthy set of conclusions and recommendations concerning the trust territories. A regrettable number of tie votes occurred on the content of the recommendations and observations to be adopted, and a temporary stalemate was reached when the Council failed, by a 6 to 6 vote, to adopt the views arrived at by its drafting committee on French Togoland. The Council, however, was able after further discussion and compromise, in its fifth session, to adopt the drafting committee's report as a whole. This difficulty was the result less of controversy over conclusions and recommendations than of sharp dispute as to what types of material might be included in the Council's report of its views and findings.

Political Advancement. The written and oral reports submitted to the Trusteeship Council by administering authorities in trust ter-

ritories evidenced a substantial and sincere effort by these authorities to respond insofar as possible to recommendations of the Council for broadened suffrage laws, increased participation by indigenous inhabitants in organs of government, and wider emphasis on political education. Generally speaking, the administering authorities have been governed in their actions by an awareness of the delicate problem facing them in developing democratic processes among primitive peoples. They have attempted to lead the indigenous population toward the desired goals, watchful lest accepted political lines of authority be disintegrated before new lines could be established.

In certain areas notable progress has been reported. In the British Cameroons an administrative reorganization resulted in appointment of the first Commissioner of the Cameroons, who is to be directly responsible for the administration of the trust territory. Previously the administrative arrangements for the provinces of the Cameroons were identical with arrangements for the administration of the provinces of Nigeria.

Administrators of the trust territory of Tanganyika reported awakening political consciousness and a sense of civic responsibility, not only among native authorities, but also among the people of the territory. An important step during the year in one district was the decision that in each subordinate area the people should select a representative to attend all plenary sessions of the Federation Council of that district. In other areas, reorganization of native administrations have borne fruit in the development of more efficient and progressive leaders. Popularly representative councils have been introduced, with younger and more politically active men as members.

Western Samoa has benefited during the past year from the Samoa Amendment Act of 1947 which put into effect most of the major political changes suggested by the Trusteeship Council's Visiting Mission of 1947. The revised constitution provides for a High Commissioner, a Council of State made up of the three highest chiefs, and a Legislative Assembly comprised of both Samoan and European members. Although the New Zealand Parliament retains the power to pass acts affecting the territory, the Legislative Assembly in Western Samoa is given the power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the territory.

While noting the progress which had been made in the various trust territories, the Trusteeship Council made a considerable number of observations and recommendations to the administering authorities designed to accelerate the advancement of the trust territories in the direction of objectives described by the Charter. The Council, for example, noted with concern that in the African trust territories generally, "indigenous wage rates are low and sometimes do not exceed

the minimum subsistence level of the inhabitants," and recommended a special study of the problem of wages and standards of living of the indigenous population and positive action to raise the wage level and standard of living in terms of clothing, housing, medical and social services.

In its subsequent consideration of the Trusteeship Council's report, the General Assembly indicated its support of the Council's recommendation to the administering authorities that they adopt measures to hasten advancement of the trust territories toward self-government or independence, and asked the Council to provide it with specific information on the measures of the authorities taken to grant a larger degree of self-government to indigenous inhabitants of trust territories through participation in the legislative, judicial, and executive organs and procedures of the territories.

Educational Advancement. Education was also a subject of much attention in the Trusteeship Council during 1949. Administering authorities generally reported an increase in funds allotted to educational development, increased attendance, an extension of primary schools into remote areas, increased emphasis on adult education, and plans for progressively better and higher educational facilities.

Despite the progress noted, the Trusteeship Council made a number of recommendations designed to promote educational advancement in the trust territories at an increased pace. In particular, the Council considered the problem of the expansion of facilities for higher education in the African trust territories. A committee made up of representatives of Australia, Mexico, Philippines, and the United States, was appointed to make a preliminary study of the Assembly's resolution of November 18, 1948, regarding establishment of a university. This committee studied the working papers on higher education prepared by the Secretariat, heard statements by experts and representatives of the administering authorities, and examined a memorandum prepared by experts on African education supplied by the administering authorities. The United States Delegation actively took part in preparing the resolution adopted unanimously by the committee and subsequently approved in the Trusteeship Council by a vote of 10 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.S.R.).

The resolution recommended that the Government of Belgium establish as speedily as possible a university center in Ruanda-Urundi and consider the establishment of preparatory institutions of higher education by 1952; that the Government of France should consider establishment, if possible by 1952, of institutions of higher learning as well as of technical character in the trust territories under its administration, particularly for the Cameroons; and that the United Kingdom should consider establishing facilities for higher education

in Tanganyika and should increase the number of scholarships for students in Togoland and the Cameroons. The Council recommended that steps be taken to obtain available United Nations scholarships, fellowships, and internships for students from the trust territories. Finally, the Council invited the Economic and Social Council to consider the needs of higher education of non-self-governing territories in its studies of the development of underdeveloped areas.

The General Assembly during its autumn session evidenced particular interest in having information concerning the United Nations and the International Trusteeship System disseminated in all trust territories. The resolution it adopted dealt with the general problem of education in these territories as a whole. It recommended a continuance of the present project for diffusion of information with expansion if possible through school curricula, and urged administering authorities to give special consideration to increasing the budgets for education in the belief that development of higher education constitutes an essential contribution to progress toward self-government or independence of the inhabitants of the territories. It congratulated those administering authorities that had adopted measures for the establishment in Africa of educational institutions of university standards. Finally, it declared formally in this resolution that discrimination on racial grounds as regards educational facilities in trust territories is not in accordance with the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreements, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Petitions. Receipt and examination of petitions from inhabitants of trust territories or other interested parties constitute another important function of the Trusteeship Council. The 46 new petitions studied by the Council this year, together with several earlier petitions received and initially discussed at the third session last year, ranged in subject matter from minor personal requests to major claims. One was a request by a former native chief in Tanganyika for a pension. Another, a petition from a native king in Urundi, asked that the Council examine the question of the possible return to his kingdom of an area which allegedly had been wrongfully excluded from his territory at the time the present boundary was established.

Two principal problems were involved in the petitions this year. One related to the Ewe people in Togoland under French administration. The Ewe problem, which has been before the Council on numerous occasions in the past, is perhaps the most complex brought to the Council's attention by the petition process. As a result of the partition of the former German colony of Togo into two territories, administered by two different powers, certain problems have been created which are purported seriously to affect the social, economic, and political life of the Ewes living in both. The Council instructed

the Visiting Mission to West Africa, shortly to be described, to examine the points raised in the petition and the Ewe problem as a whole.

The other problem related to certain Asians living in the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. The two petitions on this matter alleged that Belgian authorities practiced racial discrimination against Asians who as a result had been deported from the trust territory. On the other hand, an explanatory statement by a representative of the administering authority noted that both petitioners had been duly convicted for offenses against the laws of the territory. The Council recommended that the cases in question be reexamined by the administering authority in a spirit of leniency. It also adopted resolutions recommending that the Belgian and British Governments take steps to eliminate racial discrimination in Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika.

Additional petitions were of lesser complexity and were disposed of in accordance with policies previously adopted by the Council: by reference to visiting missions for study at a later date; or by decision that the petition concerned disputes which were within the competence of the courts of the trust territory and hence inadmissible for action by the Council under the rules of procedure.

Visiting Missions. One of the most important contrasts between the Trusteeship System of the United Nations and the Mandates System of the League of Nations is the provision for periodic visits to the trust territories by Visiting Missions representing the Trusteeship Council. In 1947 a special mission of the Council visited the trust territory of Western Samoa at the request of the New Zealand Government. In 1948 the first regular visiting mission went to the Belgian trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the British trust territory of Tanganyika. The comprehensive report of the latter mission to East Africa was examined at the Fourth Session of the Trusteeship Council early in 1949, following which the Council decided that the visiting mission's report, together with observations of Belgium and the United Kingdom regarding the report, would be taken into account by the Council during its regular examination of future annual reports relating to Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi.

The second annual visiting mission departed on October 29, 1949, for the four trust territories in West Africa—British and French Togoland and British and French Cameroons—and will report early next year. Nationals of Iraq, Belgium, Mexico, and the United States were the members of this mission. The United States member was Benjamin Gerig, Deputy United States Representative in the Trusteeship Council. The members of the visiting missions are in practice nominated by member nations, but they are appointed by and are responsible to the Trusteeship Council.

Plans are being completed for the next mission, which is scheduled to leave in April 1950 to visit the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States, the trust territories of Western Samoa under New Zealand administration, and New Guinea and Nauru administered by Australia. This visiting mission will consist of one member from China, the United Kingdom, France, and the Philippines.

Administrative Unions. For two years an issue of concern in the trusteeship field has been the formation of administrative unions between trust territories and adjacent territories under the sovereignty of the administering authorities. For example, the trust territory of Tanganyika since January 1, 1948, has been a member of the East Africa Inter-Territorial Organization, which includes the British colonies of Kenya and Uganda. Some members of the Trusteeship Council have expressed fear that these administrative unions might prevent the Trusteeship Council from effectively performing its advisory functions and might eventually extinguish the political identity of the trust territories concerned. On the other hand, the administering authorities concerned have contended that the benefits that would flow from a larger economic unit are advantageous to the trust territories. They have assured the Council that the distinct political status of these territories will be maintained and that the progress of their inhabitants toward self-government or independence will not be jeopardized by these unions.

Last year the General Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council to make a thorough study of the problem of administrative unions. A committee of the Council studied the problem and submitted a report. The Council on July 18, 1949, adopted a resolution on this problem introduced by the United States and Mexico. By this resolution, the Council will continue to study the matter during its regular examination of conditions in the territories concerned, and the administering authorities are asked to make the fullest possible effort to furnish in their annual reports separate records, statistics, and other information on each trust territory affected by administrative unions in order to safeguard the effective exercise of the Council's supervisory functions. The General Assembly subsequently asked the Council to complete its investigation and submit a special report on the subject next year, and to keep the development of such unions under its observation.

United Nations Flag in Trust Territories. The step taken this year regarding the flying of the United Nations flag in all trust territories stemmed from the interest expressed by an international assembly of private citizens, the World Federation of United Nations Associations. United in the common purpose of promoting the United Na-

tions, this Federation at its 1949 meeting in Rome urged that the United Nations flag be flown in trust territories as a symbol of the authority of the United Nations and requested that its views be brought to the attention of the Trusteeship Council.

This matter, however, was brought directly before the General Assembly in its autumn session by a draft resolution introduced by China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Liberia, Mexico, and the Philippines. The General Assembly adopted this resolution. It requested the Trusteeship Council to "recommend to the Administering Authority concerned, that the flag of the United Nations be flown over all Trust Territories side by side with the flag of the Administering Authority concerned and with the territorial flag if there is one." The express purpose of the General Assembly in adopting this resolution, which the United States supported, was to stimulate the interest and enlist the cooperation of the peoples of trust territories in the work of the United Nations by constantly reminding them of the abiding concern of the United Nations in the promotion of their advancement and full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

3. CLARIFICATION OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING SOUTH WEST AFRICA

A major question that proved especially perplexing in the General Assembly this year was the position to be taken toward the territory of South West Africa.

This former German colony had been assigned by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers after the first World War to the Union of South Africa for administration as a mandate. It is the only former mandate not now an independent state or under United Nations trusteeship. Since the time of the San Francisco Conference the international status of the territory and the responsibilities of South Africa concerning it have remained in doubt amidst growing controversy.

The General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946 recommended that the territory be placed under the international trusteeship system and invited the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose a trusteeship agreement for the territory. The Union Government in a letter of July 23, 1947, informed the United Nations that although it had decided not to incorporate South West Africa into the Union, it would continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the existing mandate and would submit reports on its administration for the information of the United Nations. A report was submitted for the year 1946. The General Assembly in 1947 maintained its recommen-

that South West Africa be placed under the trusteeship system; urged the Union Government to propose a trusteeship agreement; expressed the hope that the Union Government would find it possible to do so in time for consideration by the General Assembly in the year following; and authorized the Trusteeship Council to examine the report submitted on South West Africa and to give the General Assembly its observations.

Although the Union Government did not send a representative to be present when the Trusteeship Council examined its report, the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Union Government stated by letter to the United Nations that his Government would transmit supplementary data if desired. On December 12, 1947, the Trusteeship Council adopted a resolution to the effect that the report in certain particulars appeared to be incomplete and that the Union Government should be invited to supply supplementary information before the month of June 1948. Fifty questions were sent to the Government of South Africa requesting supplementary information on questions of government, finances and economy, land and reserves, labor, education, health, and the Herero people. Replies were promptly submitted and were examined in great detail by the Trusteeship Council on July 23, 1948.

At the 1948 session of the Assembly it was known that South Africa was disturbed by the criticism of its attitude and, therefore, might not send further reports. With a view to encouraging the Union to transmit further reports on South West Africa and to creating a reasonable atmosphere conducive to that result, the United States as at previous sessions actively participated in formulating a resolution couched in moderate rather than in sharp and condemnatory tones. The resolution on the matter that year was adopted with only South Africa's opposing vote. It expressed regret at the Union's failure to comply with the previous resolutions of the General Assembly and reaffirmed the recommendation that South West Africa be placed under trusteeship. It further recommended that the Union continue to supply annual information on the administration of South West Africa until agreement had been reached with the United Nations regarding the future of the territory.

On July 11, 1949, the Government of South Africa sent to the Secretary-General a communication stating the Union's "inability to comply" with the Assembly recommendations that South West Africa be placed under trusteeship and stating also that the Union regretted "coming to the conclusion that in the interest of efficient administration, no further reports" on South West Africa "should be forwarded" to the United Nations. With this letter the Union Government transmitted to the United Nations, for information only, the text of the

South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act of 1949, which had introduced changes toward a closer relationship between South West Africa and the Union Government including a provision for representation of the European population of South West Africa in the Union Parliament.

The consideration of the problem by the General Assembly at its session in the autumn of 1949 centered on two resolutions. The first was one introduced by the Indian Delegation, expressing regret that the Union had not submitted reports on its administration of the territory and, after a reiteration of the previous General Assembly resolutions, inviting the government to resume the submission of reports and asking the Union to comply with the recommendations of the General Assembly. The second was a resolution requesting from the International Court of Justice an advisory opinion regarding the international status of the territory of South West Africa and the international obligations of the Union arising therefrom.

The United States voted against the first resolution on the ground that it was incompatible with the second. In the view of the United States, the reference to the Court for clarification of the question regarding the international status of the territory and the obligations of the Union concerning it was an important step forward in the search for a clear solution to this thorny problem. The United States Delegation held that the Indian resolution asserted the legal theory that the submission of information on the territory was obligatory, which was precisely the question at issue on which the Assembly in the second resolution was asking for a Court opinion. The delegation also felt that the reference to the Court and the process of judicial decision should not be impaired by a reiteration in that resolution of the political discussion on the legal questions involved. The vote of the United States was therefore cast against this resolution.

Both resolutions, however, were adopted; the first, by 33 to 9, with 10 abstentions; the Court resolution by 40 to 7 (including the Union of South Africa and the Soviet bloc), with 4 abstentions.

During the course of the discussion in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly in the fall, the Reverend Michael Scott, an Anglican clergyman who has lived in South Africa for a number of years, requested a hearing to present the views of three leading tribes in the territory: the Hereros, the Namas, and the Berg Damaros, together comprising approximately one-third of the population of the territory. This request occasioned considerable debate as to whether an oral presentation to an Assembly Committee by a "private individual" was appropriate, wise, or in the interests of the proper development of United Nations procedures and practices. The Union of South Africa bitterly opposed the hearing on the ground of contravention of article 2 (7) of the Charter, which precludes the United Nations from

intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Other delegations felt that the domestic jurisdiction clause was not operative because the Union did not have sovereignty over the territory.

The United States Delegation carefully considered the possible precedent involved in granting an oral hearing before the full Committee, and the need to avoid any unnecessary and time-consuming additions to the complexities already impeding the search for a reasonable and just solution of the main problem. It then made repeated efforts to have the hearing limited to the submission of a written statement or to an oral hearing by a subcommittee as the best course in the presence of these complications and the heated debate that this issue had aroused. After extensive discussion, however, the Committee decided, by 25 votes to 14, with 6 abstentions, to grant a hearing by the full Committee. The Delegate of the Union of South Africa stated that his presence at the hearing might be interpreted as acceptance of the decision of the Committee and accordingly his delegation did not attend the hearing and the further meetings of the Committee on the subject of South West Africa. The Committee allowed the Reverend Michael Scott to make an oral statement before it, and his statement together with certain documents referred to therein were made part of the official records of the Assembly.

B. Advancement in Non-Self-Governing Territories Other than Trust Territories

Certain guiding principles for the administration of the more than 200 million people who reside in dependent territories other than trust territories are set forth in chapter XI of the Charter which is entitled "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories." Member states having responsibility for any such dependent territory are under obligation to transmit information on it regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The required statements of information are less extensive in coverage and fall less fully within the range of United Nations powers of recommendation than the reports which must be rendered annually by members administering trust territories. The information submitted under chapter XI of the Charter is subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require and cover statistical and other technical information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in these colonial and other non-self-governing territories. These dependent territories are numerous, and many var-

iations in status and governing arrangements are to be found among them, some being well-advanced, others not. During the year 1948-49 information was received from a total of 62 non-self-governing territories. The development of methods for dealing with this information constitutes an important and increasingly controversial aspect of United Nations activity.

To assist the Assembly in its consideration of the reports, a special committee was created 3 years ago. The name of the committee is taken from the article of the Charter concerned: "Special Committee on Information Transmitted under Article 73(e) of the Charter." The information is prepared according to standard form or outline, adopted by the Assembly 2 years ago, which requests information on some 70 topics. When received by the Secretary-General, the information is analyzed and summarized by him and made available to the various organs of the United Nations. The Special Committee is empowered to examine the information and with certain restrictions to make recommendations for consideration by the General Assembly.

The most significant development in this entire matter did not relate so much to any specific step or territory as to the cumulative trend of the activities of the United Nations in this field. The General Assembly was marked this year to a greater extent than previously by strongly assertive action on the part of nonadministering members and a correspondingly opposed attitude by such administering powers as the United Kingdom, France, and Belgium regarding the scope and pace of United Nations activity throughout the field of dependent areas, both colonial and other non-self-governing areas, and trust territories. These circumstances present a growing problem to which all members can be expected to give much attention in the coming year.

The United States transmitted information during 1949 on six territories and possessions: Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Seven other members of the United Nations administer non-self-governing territories: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. They forwarded information on 56 territories.

I. THE TEN RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

To consider the information and to arrive at the resolutions to which it led in 1949, the Special Committee held 20 meetings between August 25 and September 12; the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly held 18 meetings between October 27 and November 17; and the General Assembly devoted to it most of two plenary sessions, December 1 and 2.

Attention was especially directed to means of improving actual conditions in non-self-governing territories, as distinct from questions of clarifying the information received regarding these territories. This was new. When the whole system of transmitting information to the United Nations under article 73(e) had first come into effect, the Special Committee and the General Assembly naturally had given most attention to questions such as: the specific topics on which to request information; the most appropriate date for submission of information each year; and methods of insuring that the information was also made available to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies in the light of their related work. Last year all four of the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee and four out of five of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly were of such procedural character. In 1949, however, four of the six resolutions adopted by the Special Committee dealt with substantive matters: three concerned education in non-self-governing territories, and the other concerned international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and educational conditions. These, as adopted after some amendment by the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly, may be summarized as follows:

The resolution on equal treatment in matters relating to education in non-self-governing territories was passed by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 42 (including the United States) to 1 (United Kingdom) with 4 abstentions (including Belgium and the Union of South Africa). It was approved by the plenary session of the General Assembly by a vote of 44 to 1, with 7 abstentions. It invites administering members to take steps where necessary in matters related to education to establish equal treatment between indigenous and other inhabitants and, in cases where educational facilities of a separate character are provided for the different communities, to include in their annual information full data on the costs and methods of financing the separate groups of educational institutions.

The resolution on the language of instruction in non-self-governing territories was passed by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 28 (including the United States) to 3 (Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom), with 15 abstentions, and was approved by the plenary session by 34 to 4, with 13 abstentions. It invites the administering members to promote the use of the indigenous languages in the territories under their administration; to make these the languages of instruction where and whenever possible without prejudice to the use of any other language; and invites UNESCO to undertake an over-all study of the questions of the use of indigenous languages as vehicles of instruction taking into account the desires of the inhabitants and the experience of self-governing states.

The resolution on eradication of illiteracy in non-self-governing territories was passed by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 41 (including the United States) to 0 with 8 abstentions (including Belgium and the United Kingdom), and was approved by the plenary session by a vote of 42 to 0 with 10 abstentions. It invites UNESCO to communicate to the administering members full information on measures for eradicating illiteracy which might be applied with satisfactory results in non-self-governing territories, and to communicate annually to the United Nations an account of these measures and of the extent to which its services in campaigns against illiteracy have been requested by administering members for non-self-governing territories.

The resolution on international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories was passed by Committee Four by a vote of 38 (including the United States) to 1 (United Kingdom), with 9 abstentions (including Belgium and France) and was approved by the plenary session in a vote of 39 to 2, with 8 abstentions. It requests the administering authorities to cooperate when and where appropriate with specialized international bodies for the purpose of examining the possibility of providing adequate training facilities for the inhabitants of these territories in economic development, agriculture, education, labor, public health, and social welfare. It also requests the appropriate international bodies to take due account of conditions in non-self-governing territories in work undertaken by them in these fields and to report annually to the United Nations on work in progress which would be of service in non-self-governing territories and the extent to which their services have been provided for such territories.

The Special Committee on Information Transmitted under article 73 (e) of the Charter was continued under the year's decisions on a longer-term basis than previously. When this Committee was originally established by a General Assembly resolution in 1946, it bore the name *Ad Hoc* Committee. The title of Special Committee was given it in 1947, when its terms of reference were expanded to empower it to make not only procedural recommendations but substantive recommendations provided these recommendations on functional matters were limited to the economic, social, and educational fields enumerated in the Charter and did not relate to political matters or to individual territories.

When the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly considered the matter in the autumn, it had before it a proposal by France to continue the Committee for one year; a proposal by Czechoslovakia to make the Special Committee a permanent organ; and a compromise proposal sponsored by the United States in the Special Committee and adopted by that body, recommending that the Committee be con-

tinued for a 3-year period. The Fourth Committee, by a vote of 41 (including the United States, Australia, Denmark, and the Netherlands) to 4 (Belgium, France, South Africa, and the United Kingdom) with 2 abstentions (including New Zealand), favored the 3-year proposal with provisions for the same balance of membership of administering and nonadministering states and the same terms of reference it already had. The General Assembly in plenary session approved this proposal by a vote of 44 to 5 with 4 abstentions.

Under a related resolution it was decided that, to enhance the value of the work of the Special Committee, particular attention should be given in turn at each of the next three sessions to one of the three functional fields mentioned in article 73(e) of the Charter, and the Special Committee was asked to give its attention in 1950 especially to the educational problems in non-self-governing territories. The concentration on one field was to be made without prejudice, however, to the consideration of the other two fields. The debate on this resolution was marked by controversy concerning the extent of powers vested in the United Nations in this field, and the proper mode of their exercise. This resolution on the work of the Special Committee was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 31 (including the United States, Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands, and New Zealand) to 3 (Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom), with 10 abstentions (including the U.S.S.R. and satellites). The General Assembly in plenary session approved it by a vote of 35 to 5 with 9 abstentions.

The members of the Special Committee for the newly extended term were elected by the Fourth Committee on behalf of the General Assembly. The following eight nonadministering states were chosen to serve with the eight administering states as members of the Special Committee: for three years, Egypt, India, Brazil, and the U.S.S.R.; for two years, Mexico and the Philippines; for one year, Sweden and Venezuela.

Two additional questions, though long since considered, had to be taken up further. The first was: What constitutes a non-self-governing territory?

The General Assembly in 1946 considered this question but decided merely to note the list of territories on which the administering members had transmitted or announced their intention of transmitting information. This list contained 74 territories, though some administering members accompanied their enumeration with reservations. France stated that the list of French territories was "without prejudice to the future of those territories," and New Zealand reserved its position on the Cook Islands. In 1947 and 1948 information was not received on a number of territories that had been listed, and this year

the General Assembly had before it information on only 62 territories. Most of the territories on which information was lacking were French, and the French Government maintained that these were now, by virtue of their participation in the French Union, no longer dependent and non-self-governing. The British Government stated that information was not sent on Malta which is now self-governing with respect to the matters covered by article 73(e) though it is non-self-governing in regard to some other matters.

The second question was: Who should decide on what territories administering members are obligated to transmit information under article 73(e)? The General Assembly in 1948 had adopted the view that the United Nations should be informed of the changes in the constitutional position and status of territories leading the responsible government to discontinue transmission of information, and it requested the members concerned to furnish the Secretary-General with the relevant documents providing for the government of the territory and its constitutional relationship to the metropolitan country. The United States had voted for the resolution concerned but reserved its belief that the transmission of the information did not alter the right of each administering state to determine the constitutional position and status of any particular territory under its sovereignty.

In the discussion of these questions in 1949, a further step was taken. This was a resolution adopted by Committee Four by a vote of 30 to 10 (including Australia, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United Kingdom), with 7 abstentions (including the United States) that it was within the responsibility of the General Assembly to express its opinion on the principles which have guided, or may in the future guide, the members concerned in enumerating the territories on which information should be transmitted. The same resolution invited the Special Committee to study the factors that should be taken into account in determining whether any territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The resolution was approved by the General Assembly by a vote of 30 to 12 with 10 abstentions. Throughout the discussion, the United Kingdom, France, and Belgium took the position that it was solely the responsibility of the administering members to determine which of their territories were non-self-governing. Nonadministering members tended to dispute this view or at least to defend the right of the General Assembly to discuss the matter. The United States reserved its view and abstained from voting on the resolution.

Another effort was made this year by the Assembly to induce administering members to transmit information on political development

in their colonial and other non-self-governing territories and certain background information. By a resolution on voluntary transmission of information under part 1 of the standard form, the Assembly recommended that when the standard form—or outline for the guidance of members in preparing information—is revised, the general information on geography, history, people, and human rights should no longer be classified as “optional,” and expressed the hope that such members as have not already done so may voluntarily include details on the government of their non-self-governing territories. This was endorsed by the plenary session by a vote of 33 to 9 (including the United States), with 11 abstentions.

The two further resolutions of the Assembly may be briefly noted. By one, adopted 31 to 4 with 16 abstentions, the Secretary-General has been asked to publish data periodically on special aspects of progress in non-self-governing territories as contained in the information transmitted under article 73(e) and in the supplemental information. The other, adopted 46 to 1 with 5 abstentions, requests the Secretary-General to keep the Special Committee informed of the nature of the technical assistance accorded from time to time by specialized international bodies to non-self-governing territories in the interest of their economic development.

2. THE QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE AND METHOD

It will have been noted that the 10 resolutions on non-self-governing territories other than trust territories this year were adopted by the General Assembly by considerable majorities. However, in Committee Four of the Assembly, where record votes were taken, two of the powers administering colonies—Belgium and the United Kingdom—did not vote in favor of any of these resolutions, and France did not cast its vote in favor of eight. These three powers reserved their positions with respect of the Special Committee, and did not take part in the election of the nonadministering members of that Committee. Australia, Denmark, the Netherlands, and New Zealand supported various of the resolutions while opposing others, and the United States supported eight.

The main points of concern were the establishment of the Special Committee for a 3-year period, and the relatively large number of resolutions on functional matters considered and pressed for the first time by nonadministering powers this year.

The question underlying these matters as a whole was one of interpretation of the provisions of the Charter and the resulting measure of the responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to non-self-

governing territories other than trust territories. The nonadministering states, many of which historically have colonial foundations, have tended toward a broad construction of the provisions contained in chapter XI of the Charter. They have felt deep interest in all forms of advancement including political development of all non-self-governing peoples, and in general have considered that the United Nations should press ahead as rapidly and fully with the application of the principles of the Charter in all non-self-governing territories as in the trust territories. A stricter interpretation of the Charter has tended to be favored by Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom. They have not regarded the *Ad Hoc* Committee and the successor Special Committee as legal, though they have acquiesced in its work during its year-to-year tenure when directed to procedural recommendations and were willing this year to have the Committee continued for one more year as useful in carrying out a revision of the standard form. Their position in regard to substantive recommendations by the United Nations in this field has been one of stronger objection, on constitutional grounds. Although making it clear that some of the resolutions on functional matters were unobjectionable in content and merely encouraged policies which they in fact were already pursuing or were gradually instituting, the view taken on the constitutional principle involved was that recommendations asking the administering members to follow a certain line of policy constituted intervention by the United Nations in matters exclusively within their jurisdiction. They were accordingly opposed to giving the Special Committee a 3-year term of continuance and to the adoption of the several other resolutions to the extent noted above.

The United States view of the proper role of the United Nations in relation to non-self-governing territories was somewhat different from both the foregoing, chiefly in the following respects. The United States had voted against the establishment of the original Committee on the pragmatic ground that its work was unlikely to be needed and useful and still has doubts concerning the ultimate need and usefulness of the Special Committee. For that reason, when the issue of whether the Committee should be set up on a permanent basis arose, the United States joined with other administering members in opposing its permanent establishment at this time. However, the United States supported the year-to-year continuation of the Committee and also its right to make substantive recommendations provided these were directed to administering members as a group and not to individual members or concerning individual territories. The United States initiated in the Special Committee the proposal for the 3-year extension of the Committee without prejudice to reconsideration of the whole position in 1952, with the thought that a 3-year term would provide

an adequate test of the capacity of the Committee for constructive work. It should be noted in this respect that a Czechoslovak proposal to make the Committee permanent was lost in the Fourth Committee by a narrow margin while, on the other hand, a French proposal to continue the Committee for one year received only a minimum of support.

The developments in this field of wide international interest thus indicated certain differences of method and approach. These reflect long-rooted impressions as well as current viewpoints. To a degree they obscure the fact that forward-looking steps of economic and social advancement and political growth are now proceeding in nearly all the non-self-governing territories at a more accelerated pace than ever before. They also obscure the large area of common agreement which exists in regard to the substantive progress which it is the object of all to accomplish.

Experience is steadily clarifying the practical requirements to be met in promoting the welfare and sound development of the peoples of these territories. These requirements present many perplexities in making decisions in order that work will proceed on the most practical and feasible lines in the light of all the facts and circumstances. It is evident from the work in 1949 that these requirements entail manifold and heavy tasks of policy and day-to-day administration for the governing authorities having responsibility in these territories, and that they call for constructive statesmanship in the United Nations on the part both of the nonadministering and the administering states. As in other fields, the active cooperation of all concerned is the basis on which effective contribution by the United Nations depends in this field.

C. Cooperation With Regional Commissions

The United States participates in two regional Commissions, the Caribbean and South Pacific Commissions. These bodies are consultative and advisory to the member governments and the several non-self-governing territories which they administer. While they have no organic connection with the United Nations, their objectives are in close accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and they maintain liaison and consultation with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

I. CARIBBEAN COMMISSION

The four members of the United Nations which administer non-self-governing territories in the Caribbean area—France, the Netherlands,

the United Kingdom, and the United States—are the members of the Caribbean Commission. While the Caribbean Commission agreement did not enter into force until August 6, 1948, the Commission is actually an outgrowth of the former two-member Anglo-American Caribbean Commission which began in 1942. The purposes of this advisory and consultative body are to promote regional scientific, technological, and economic development and thereby to improve the economic and social well-being of the peoples of the area. Its principal activities during the past year have been in the fields of industrial development, transportation and communications, promotion of tourist trade, unification of a hurricane warning system, and research including the publication of technical pamphlets on the major exports and imports of the area. All of these are of direct interest to the members and the territories and all find the Commission a useful instrumentality for advancement in the area.

Two meetings of the Commission were held during 1949—the eighth in Trinidad, June 13–18, and the ninth in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States, December 5–9. The Caribbean Research Council, an auxiliary body of the Commission, and its technical Research Committee on Agriculture, Fish, Wildlife and Forestry, held sessions during 1949 to outline programs for specific research projects and for the collection and wide dissemination of information on research.

Preparations have begun for the Fourth Session of the West Indian Conference, scheduled to be convened in the fall of 1950 in Curaçao. This biennial conference is held under the auspices of the Commission and is composed of delegates representing 14 non-self-governing territories of the area. Discussion at this Conference will center around one major theme, The Agricultural Problems of the Caribbean, and will include such subjects as soil conservation, diversification of farming, land settlement, rural housing, agricultural credit, and allied subjects.

The United States Government has strongly supported these conferences. It has been particularly pleased to observe the active participation and leadership shown by the Puerto Rican and Virgin Island Delegations. These conferences, in the opinion of the United States Government, are within the spirit of the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1946, regarding regional conferences of representatives of non-self-governing territories.

The cooperation conducted on a secretariat level with the United Nations and its specialized agencies is designed to afford reciprocity of information, exchange of publications, and consultation on projects and techniques in order that duplication may be avoided. Observers from the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies have begun to attend certain technical meetings held under the authority of the Commission, according to the subject matters discussed.

2. SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

The Governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States undertook in 1947 to establish a Commission in the region of the South Pacific to improve health and living standards, to provide better educational facilities, and to promote the economic welfare of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories situated there. The South Pacific Commission was duly established the following year. At its Third Session from May 7 to 17, 1949, it adopted a work program of 30 research projects capable of regional treatment in the fields of health, social development, and economic development. These had been submitted by the South Pacific Research Council, an auxiliary body of the Commission. The program for applying scientific knowledge for the benefit of the peoples of the region, currently being implemented, emphasizes the economic development and social advancement of the 15 separate territories within the Commission's geographic scope.

A provision for holding periodic conferences of representatives of the local inhabitants of the territories concerned is included within the charter of the Commission. Plans were formulated at the Fourth Session held from October 22 to 31, 1949, for the first South Pacific Conference to be held at Suva, Fiji Islands, in April 1950. The convening of this conference accords with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1946, which called upon member governments concerned to convene conferences of representatives of the non-self-governing territories.

The agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission provides for close cooperation with the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies on economic and social matters and contains an undertaking by participating governments to consult with the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies with a view to defining the desired relationships and to insure cooperation. The Commission has authorized its Secretary-General to develop more fully the informal relationships already established with the United Nations, specialized agencies, and other appropriate international organizations.

By assisting the territories of the Caribbean and South Pacific regions in solving the problems presently confronting them, the United States is actively implementing the principles enumerated in the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories in chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.

PART IV

Action to Resolve Legal Questions and to Develop International Law

DURING THE fourth year of the United Nations it was observable that more frequent resort than previously was being made to the International Court of Justice and that the development of international law in respects other than decisions of the Court also was being given increased attention.

A. Utilization of the Court

The Court this year rendered its decision in the Corfu Channel case and gave its advisory opinion on reparation for injuries sustained in the service of the United Nations; both are described in the following paragraphs. The General Assembly has referred three further matters to the Court for advisory opinions on legal questions involved: the observance of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania; the question of South West Africa; and the admission of new members. These have been described in foregoing pages. In addition it may be noted that the Court has three cases pending between states on which it may pass during the coming year. These legal questions have been transferred to the Court by agreement of the parties, respectively, the United Kingdom and Norway, France and Egypt, and Peru and Colombia. It is heartening for the strengthening of world order on the foundations of justice and law to find that the Court, now well organized, is being requested more often than in earlier years to give consideration to legal questions at issue in international disputes.

I. THE CORFU CHANNEL CASE

From earlier reports it will be recalled that on January 10, 1947, the Secretary-General of the United Nations received a communication from the Government of the United Kingdom requesting the Security Council to take up, under paragraph 1 of article 35 of the Charter, a dispute between Great Britain and Albania. The matter

concerned the damaging by mines of two British destroyers, the *Volage* and the *Saumarez*, in the Corfu Channel close to the Albanian shores on October 22, 1946. As a result of explosions, 86 officers and men were killed or injured and the two vessels badly damaged. The United Kingdom had requested an apology and compensation for the loss of life and property from the Government of Albania, and the reply of the latter was considered unsatisfactory by the United Kingdom. On April 9, 1947, the Security Council recommended "that the United Kingdom and the Albanian Governments should immediately refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court."

The Government of the United Kingdom accordingly transmitted to the International Court of Justice on May 22, 1947, an application instituting proceedings against Albania in respect of the Corfu incident, claiming that Albania was internationally responsible. In a note filed with the registrar of the Court, July 23, 1947, the Albanian Government expressed the view that in bringing the dispute before the Court by unilateral application the British Government had not proceeded in conformity with the above-mentioned resolution of the Security Council, and that the British Government before applying to the Court should have reached agreement with the Albanian Government on the conditions for submission of the dispute to the Court. The communication nevertheless went on to say that in spite of this irregularity committed by the British Government "it [the Albanian Government] is prepared to appear before the Court."

The president of the Court set October 1, 1947, as the date for the filing of a memorial by the United Kingdom, and December 10, 1947, for the filing of a counter-memorial by Albania. The memorial of the United Kingdom was duly filed and on December 9, 1947, Albania filed a preliminary objection to the application of the United Kingdom, asking the Court to give judgment that the United Kingdom by "proceeding . . . unilaterally" had acted contrary to the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

By a judgment of March 25, 1948, the Court held that Albania had accepted the jurisdiction of the Court in the matter in its communication to the Court of July 23 preceding.

Immediately after the delivery of this judgment the Court was notified by the agents of the parties of a special agreement between the two governments, submitting to the Court for decision the following two questions:

- 1) Is Albania responsible under international law for the explosions which occurred on the 22nd October 1946 in Albanian waters and for the damage and loss of human life which resulted from them and is there any duty to pay compensation?

2) Has the United Kingdom under international law violated the sovereignty of the Albanian People's Republic by reason of the acts of the Royal Navy in Albanian waters on the 22nd October and on the 12th and 13th November 1946 and is there any duty to give satisfaction?

The Court made an order on May 26, 1948, taking note that the special agreement now formed the basis of further proceedings before the Court and maintaining the time limits set for the filing of subsequent pleadings on the merits.

On September 20, 1948, the case was ready for hearing, and the Court held public sittings in November and December 1948 and in January 1949. The Court heard arguments by the representatives of the parties and heard the witnesses and experts called by each of the parties. In addition, the Court by order of December 17, 1948, entrusted the duty of giving an expert opinion on certain disputed points to a Committee composed of officers of the Norwegian, Swedish, and Netherlands Navies.

The Court's decision on the merits was given April 9, 1949. It found no decisive legal proof of the mine laying. However, the Court attached importance to the fact that the "laying of the mines took place in a period in which Albania had shown an intention to keep a jealous watch on her territorial waters and was requiring authorization before those waters were entered"; that "when the Albanian Government had become fully aware of the existence of a mine field, it protested strongly against the action of the British fleet, but did not protest against the mine-laying itself though this act, if carried out without Albania's consent, would have been a very serious violation of her sovereignty"; that Albania did not notify shipping of the existence of the mine field, "as would be required by international law"; and that she did not make any kind of judicial investigation as could seem to have been incumbent on her to do in such a case. "From all these facts and observations," the Court concluded that "the laying of the mine field could not have been effected without the knowledge of Albania," and 11 judges of the 16, one *ad hoc*, held Albania "responsible under international law for the explosions which occurred on October 22nd, 1946, in Albanian waters and for the damage and loss of human life that resulted therefrom." The Court further held, by the opinion of 10 judges that it had jurisdiction, under the special agreement of March 25, 1948, to assess the amount of the compensation and reserved for further consideration its assessment.

The Court held on question two by the opinion of 14 judges, that the United Kingdom did not violate the sovereignty of Albania by reason of the acts of the British Navy in Albanian waters on October 22, 1946. It held unanimously that the operation of the British Navy of November 12-13, 1946, by which it endeavored to sweep the mines

from the Corfu Channel violated Albanian sovereignty, and was not to be justified by any special application of the theory of intervention, or as a method of self-protection or self-help. This declaration of violation constituted in itself, in the Court's opinion, appropriate satisfaction.

Time limits were then fixed for the filing of pleadings in the matter of the compensation to be determined. On November 17 the Court, in public hearing, appointed two Dutch naval experts to "verify" Britain's claim for compensation. On December 15, 1949, the Court, in a 12 to 2 decision, determined that Albania must pay damages to the United Kingdom in the amount of £843,957 (\$2,363,051). The two opposed opinions were given by the Soviet and *ad hoc* members of the Court.

2. REPARATION FOR INJURIES

The assassination on September 18, 1948, of Count Folke Bernadotte, United Nations Mediator on Palestine, and of a member of the observing staff, as well as injuries to other United Nations agents, raised the question of reparation for injuries to personnel of the organization sustained during the performance of official duties in areas under the territorial jurisdiction of a state. The General Assembly decided on December 3, 1948, to submit the two following legal questions to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion:

I. In the event of an agent of the United Nations in the performance of his duties suffering injury in circumstances involving the responsibility of a State, has the United Nations, as an Organization, the capacity to bring an international claim against the responsible *de jure* or *de facto* government with a view to obtaining the reparation due in respect of the damage caused (a) to the United Nations, (b) to the victim or to persons entitled through him?

II. In the event of an affirmative reply on point I (b), how is action by the United Nations to be reconciled with such rights as may be possessed by the State of which the victim is a national?

The Court gave its advisory opinion on April 11, 1949. On question I (a), the Court stated that it was of the unanimous opinion that in the event of an agent of the United Nations in the performance of his duties suffering injury in circumstances involving the responsibility of a member or a nonmember state, "the United Nations as an Organization has the capacity to bring an international claim against the responsible *de jure* or *de facto* government with a view to obtaining the reparation due in respect of the damage caused to the United Nations."

On question I (b), the Court was of the opinion, by a decision of 11 to 4, that in the event an agent of the United Nations in the performance of his duties suffers injury in circumstances involving the responsibility of a member or a nonmember state, "the United Nations as an

Organization has the capacity to bring an international claim against the responsible *de jure* or *de facto* government with a view to obtaining the reparation due in respect of the damage caused to the victim or to persons entitled through him."

On question II, the opinion of the Court by a 10 to 5 decision was as follows:

When the United Nations as an Organization is bringing a claim for reparation of damage caused to its agent, it can only do so by basing its claim upon a breach of obligations due to itself; respect for this rule will usually present a conflict between the action of the United Nations and such rights as the agent's national State may possess, and thus bring about a reconciliation between their claims; moreover, this reconciliation must depend upon considerations applicable to each particular case, and upon agreements to be made between the Organization and individual States, either generally or in each case.

On the basis of this opinion, the General Assembly on December 1, 1949, authorized the Secretary-General to seek reparation in respect of damages to the United Nations and of damages caused to the victim or persons entitled through him. Such claims are to be settled by the Secretary-General through negotiation or, if necessary, submitted to arbitration under appropriate procedures.

3. THE INQUIRY FROM LIECHTENSTEIN

The Principality of Liechtenstein inquired of the United Nations on March 6, 1949, for the conditions under which it might become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

The inquiry was considered under article 93, paragraph 2, of the Charter, according to which the conditions on which states not members of the United Nations may become parties to the Statute are to be determined, in each case, by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The Council recommended, and the General Assembly during its autumn session approved, three conditions. These are the same as those determined earlier in the case of Switzerland, the first nonmember to become a party to the Statute, effective last year. The Swiss contribution to the expenses of the Court for 1950 was fixed at 1.65 percent of the Court's budget. The three conditions are (a) acceptance of the provisions of the Statute of the Court; (b) acceptance of the obligation of a member of the United Nations under article 94 of the Charter, by which each member of the United Nations has undertaken to comply with the decision of the International Court in any case to which it is a party; and (c) an undertaking to contribute to the expenses of the Court. Liechtenstein has been informed accordingly.

B. Development of International Law

The efforts being made by the General Assembly through studies and recommendations to encourage the progressive development of international law and its codification are concentrated in the first instance in the International Law Commission. This Commission was established in 1947 but did not hold its first session until April 12, 1949, when it convened at Lake Success. It held 38 meetings between that date and June 9, and then adjourned until May 1950. The Commission, composed of experts rather than national representatives, is under the chairmanship of Manley O. Hudson, American. Its first vice chairman is Vladimir M. Koretsky, Soviet; its second vice chairman is Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, Indian; and the rapporteur is Gilberto Amado, Brazilian. Its report was considered by the General Assembly during the autumn session.

The agenda which the Commission adopted for its work contains six major topics. The first four of these are a survey of international law for the purpose of selecting topics for codification; a draft declaration on the rights and duties of states; formulation of the principles recognized in the Charter of the Nürnberg Tribunal and in the judgments of that Tribunal, together with preparation of a draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind; and the question of an international criminal court. The remaining two are ways and means of making evidence of customary international law more readily available; and cooperation with other bodies active in the field of the development of international law.

Following some preliminary discussion, the Commission appointed rapporteurs to prepare preliminary studies and drafts on the topics concerned with an international criminal court, offenses against the peace and security of mankind, and cooperation with other bodies in developing international law.

The Commission selected the following three topics of international law for codification: law of treaties; arbitral procedures; and regime of the high seas. The Commission proceeded in its spring meeting to begin its work in connection with these three topics. The Assembly decided that the Commission has a right to proceed with work in this field without awaiting approval of the list of topics from the Assembly. The additional topic of regime of territorial waters was recommended by the Assembly for inclusion in the list of topics for codification.

The Sixth Committee asked the Fifth Committee to consider the question of the emoluments of members of the International Law Commission in view of the financial sacrifice imposed on these private persons owing to the length of sessions, the Commission having expressed the view that the per diem allowance provided for under article 13

of the Statute of the Commission was hardly sufficient to meet the living expenses of members. A comprehensive review of the subsistence allowances for all expert commissions is being undertaken by the Secretary-General, and the Fifth Committee believed the question should be considered as part of that study. The General Assembly approved a recommendation of the Fifth Committee that the rapporteurs, who are called upon to do extensive work between sessions of the Commission and are expressly provided for in the Statute, should be remunerated in keeping with the accepted practice of the United Nations to pay fees for special research projects in specific technical fields.

The major part of the Commission's work in 1949 related to the Draft Declaration of Rights and Duties of States which was submitted to the General Assembly for consideration in the autumn. This draft had been formulated on the basis of a paper originated by Panama. The 14 articles of the draft declaration were examined by the Assembly, but without systematic substantive consideration of each of these articles and without votes on the various substantive amendments offered during the consideration of the draft in the Assembly's Sixth Committee. Nevertheless, the discussion was extensive. In its course, Yugoslavia introduced a resolution constituting in effect a new declaration, but this also was not put to vote.

Acting in accord with the report of the Sixth Committee on this matter, the General Assembly expressed its appreciation to the commission for its work on the draft as a substantial contribution toward progressive development of international law and its codification and directed that the draft be sent to the member states. The members are requested to give their comments and suggestions, and particularly their views on whether further action on the draft should be taken by the General Assembly and if so the exact nature of the document to be aimed at. After the replies have been received, for which the date of July 1, 1950, has been set, the Secretary-General will publish the comments for such use as the General Assembly may find desirable. The United States supported the attitude adopted by the General Assembly in this field but felt it necessary to object to more definite consideration of the draft at the session of the Assembly next year.

C. Additional Legal Questions

Five further subjects of a legal nature were considered during 1949.

The first concerned the provisions to be made for the privileges and immunities required by the United Nations in the conduct of its work. The general convention on the privileges and immunities of

the United Nations has still to be ratified by the United States and 25 other members before it can become effective. On the companion convention on privileges and immunities of the specialized agencies, all of the specialized agencies have forwarded notices of acceptance and the final texts of approved draft annexes to this convention, but only three member states have as yet acceded to it. The General Assembly in the autumn of 1949 unanimously approved a resolution which noted these matters as drawn to its notice by the Secretary-General. The only other action of related character to be noted is that the General Assembly has approved a supplementary agreement entered into by the Secretary-General in July of this year with the Universal Postal Union, under the terms of which the officials of the Union will enjoy the privileges of the *laissez-passer* of the United Nations. This action is permitted by article 7 of the above general convention which provides for the extension of the right to use the United Nations *laissez-passer* to officials of the specialized agencies. Similar agreements had been made on earlier dates with several other such agencies.

This year the preparation of a convention for declaration of death of missing persons was undertaken. Work was begun in the first half of 1949 by an *ad hoc* committee of government representatives who were called together by the Economic and Social Council acting on the initiative of the International Refugee Organization. The draft convention was considered by the Council and was then forwarded to the General Assembly. This convention is intended, by facilitating the issuance and the recognition of declarations of death in the case of missing persons, to make easier and less expensive the procedures which surviving heirs and spouses now must carry out in order to establish the death of relatives who were victims in Nazi concentration camps or who otherwise disappeared as the result of events during World War II. The General Assembly did not go into the substance of the draft convention's provisions. It referred the convention to member states for such consideration and action as they might find necessary, and it instructed the Secretary-General to call before April 1, 1950, an international conference of states interested in adopting a convention to meet the problems involved.

The question of what nonmember states should be invited to become parties to the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide has been pending since this convention was open for signature last year. After discussing various solutions, the General Assembly decided this year to invite all nonmember states to sign if they are, or if they become, active members of one or more of the specialized agencies of the United Nations or parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The same question had arisen

with regard to the general act for pacific settlement of disputes, but since no member state has as yet signed this act, the Assembly decided that it would not yet invite nonmembers to do so.

The fourth subject arose under the provision of the Charter which empowers the Economic and Social Council to call international conferences on matters within its competence "in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations." The rules for calling conferences as drafted by the Economic and Social Council with the aid of the Secretariat of the United Nations were adopted, with several amendments, by the General Assembly this year. These rules will supplant the provisional rules under which the Council has so far operated, except in the case of the coming conference on technical assistance mentioned in above pages. The Council had intended the new rules to cover nongovernmental as well as governmental conferences, but by the decision of the Assembly the rules will apply only to the governmental type. The Secretary-General has been requested to consult the Council and then to prepare draft rules for calling nongovernmental conferences. Certain aspects of the rules were subject to special attention. A proposed article stating that decisions of the Council under the rules would be binding on participants in a conference was deleted. Over Soviet objection the rules as adopted permit the calling of regional conferences. A Soviet proposal to impose the burden of financing the conferences upon the participating states rather than upon the United Nations was rejected, and instead the Council is to arrange the financing of conferences subject to the applicable regulations, rules, and resolutions of the General Assembly where expenditures of United Nations funds are involved. Non-self-governing territories may be invited to conferences with the approval of the administering powers concerned, a proposal to permit direct invitation to such territories not being approved.

The last legal question of which note should be made is that of registration with the United Nations of treaties and agreements into which members of the United Nations have entered. A total of 932 treaties had been registered or filed and recorded by the beginning of October 1949. Of the registered treaties, 489 had been published by October 26, 1949. The gap between registration and publication had been shortened from 15 months to 10. The General Assembly unanimously expressed its satisfaction with this progress. It empowered the Secretary-General to effect the registration of multilateral treaties of which he is the depositary even in the absence of specific language in any given treaty so empowering him. For this grant of authority, an amendment was made to the rules controlling registration and publication of treaties and international agreements.

PART V

Administrative and Budgetary

THE ADMINISTRATIVE and budgetary developments to be reported this year concerning the United Nations and its permanent specialized agencies are, for the most part, those which are characteristic of relatively well-established organizations. The progress made during the year in the construction of permanent headquarters for the United Nations symbolizes the fact that all these organizations are moving out of the earlier stage of tentative and provisional arrangements. As relatively mature institutions, they are being subjected to increasingly exacting standards of internal management practices and of interagency coordination.

Action this year was along two main lines, one concerning the conduct of organizational affairs and the other, the needs and developing work of the staff. Apart from these, as already described in foregoing pages, the Assembly this year acted to meet the requirements for more systematic servicing of field missions by establishing a field service as an arm of the United Nations Secretariat, for the purpose of assisting these missions by providing transportation, communication, protection, and other services. This step reflects not only the wider use being made by the United Nations of special commissions and other field missions in troubled political spots, of which the Balkans, Korea, Indonesia, Palestine, and Kashmir are examples, but also the constant adaptation of the United Nations to changes and new international needs which emerge year by year.

A. Action to Provide for Conduct of Organizational Affairs

I. PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS

The location of the permanent headquarters of the several United Nations agencies is an organizational question of the first importance from the standpoint of general policy as well as from the standpoint of administrative convenience.

Divergent views have manifested themselves on this matter. At the one extreme is the conviction that the closer association of nations in the world should find expression in a common headquarters location for the United Nations and its specialized agencies. This view emphasizes also the importance of a common headquarters in facilitating administrative coordination. At the other extreme is the view that the headquarters of the several agencies should be distributed throughout the world so that the greatest number of peoples of diverse cultures may directly see and come into touch with the United Nations system, thus widening the people's loyalty to international cooperation. Neither of these viewpoints has prevailed. The actual location of each organization has been influenced rather by more pragmatic factors, both political and administrative. Among these are considerations of proximity to other organizations with which the agency's relations are closest; the environment which can make the greatest technical and cultural contribution to the work of the agency; effects upon national and regional pride and desires; transportation and currency problems; and, since the agencies generally do not have sizable financial reserves, the prospects of hospitality and assistance from the host government as in the financing of a headquarters building.

The interplay of these various factors has resulted in the location of the United Nations itself in New York and of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington. The International Civil Aviation Organization is located in Montreal, Canada. Centered in Geneva, Switzerland, are the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the International Telecommunication Union, with the Universal Postal Union at Bern. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is located at Paris. The Food and Agriculture Organization, temporarily located in Washington, voted in December 1949 to establish permanent headquarters in Rome. This choice was made after considerable indecision and after the agency had canvassed a number of other possible locations including Washington, New York, and Copenhagen.

The United Nations is looking forward to the day when it will be settled in its own quarters on the permanent headquarters site in midtown New York City. During 1949 satisfactory progress was made in construction on this site which extends along the East River front from Forty-second to Forty-eighth Streets in Manhattan. In October the steelwork of the 39-story Secretariat office building was completed, and by the end of the year work was well advanced toward enclosing the structure with its impressive marble and glass exterior walls. The Secretariat building is the first of several units of the headquarters development to be constructed on the site.

At a United Nations Day observance on October 24, 1949, the delegations to the General Assembly and their guests attended the ceremony at which Secretary-General Trygve Lie laid the cornerstone of the United Nations Headquarters. The ceremony, presided over by the President of the General Assembly, General Carlos P. Romulo, was addressed by the President of the United States, who expressed the pleasure that the people of the United States feel in having the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in this country and congratulated the organization upon its accomplishments of the past 4 years. President Truman declared that the laying of the cornerstone was "an act of faith—our unshakable faith that the United Nations will succeed in accomplishing the great tasks for which it was created."

The target date for completion of the Secretariat office building is March 1951. Excavation has been completed and the foundations have been laid for three other structures: the General Assembly meeting hall, the conference building, and an underground garage. Contracts for the construction of these three structures have been prepared, and it is expected that they will be let early this year. Their construction is expected to be completed by the end of 1951.

The city of New York has begun the improvements it agreed to undertake at the city's own expense on the public ways bounding the headquarters site. Contracts have been let by the city for improvements on Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive. Certain structures have been razed on Forty-second Street, and the city is removing utilities from under First Avenue to facilitate improvements on that thoroughfare.

The cost of constructing, landscaping, and furnishing the permanent headquarters buildings is being met out of the \$65,000,000 interest-free loan authorized by the United States Congress in an act approved on August 11, 1948. To the end of December 1949, the United States Government had made advances to the United Nations from the loan fund to a total of \$22,614,934. These payments are made pursuant to the terms of the Headquarters Loan Agreement which was included as part of the authorizing legislation. Advances are made by the United States upon request of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his deputy and only in amounts necessary to cover current requirements and obligations that will become due and payable within 60 days from the date of request. The United Nations renders an account on each advance and all unused amounts are required to be returned to the United States Government. Repayment of the loan will commence with a \$1,000,000 installment due July 1, 1951, and is to be completed by July 1, 1982.

In making arrangements concerning all aspects of the permanent headquarters, the Secretary-General consults with a Headquarters Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of 16 member states in-

cluding the United States. In his general report on the development of the headquarters project to the General Assembly in the autumn, the Secretary-General reported that architectural and engineering plans have necessarily undergone certain modifications and readjustments, partly as a result of further analysis of the organization's requirements and partly to hold expenditure within the fixed budget. The Assembly was told that the essential features of the original plans were being preserved and that the structures would be well suited to the requirements of the organization and harmonious in architectural effect.

2. BUDGETS

The total expenditure budgets for the calendar year 1950 of the United Nations and all the permanent specialized agencies amount to approximately \$81,000,000. Miscellaneous income reduces to approximately \$72,500,000 the amount to be assessed against the members of these organizations. This latter figure is to be compared with a 1949 assessment figure of approximately \$70,000,000. In addition, total cost for the fiscal year 1951 of the International Refugee Organization, a temporary specialized agency, is estimated at \$54,965,909 as compared to \$154,560,500 for the fiscal year 1950.

The United Nations and each of the specialized agencies votes its own budget. In each case the chief administrative officer prepares detailed budget estimates and justifications for consideration by the executive body and the representative assembly or conference of the organization. Detailed scrutiny of the budget generally takes place in committees constituted to review financial matters. In addition, the budgets of the specialized agencies are submitted to the General Assembly for an advisory review.

The process by which the United Nations develops its own budget is a particularly thorough one. The Secretary-General submitted, in June 1949, his estimates for the calendar year 1950. During the summer, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, a standing committee of the General Assembly composed of nine experts from as many countries and serving in their individual capacities, devoted 8 weeks to a comprehensive review of the estimates and of the written and oral justifications presented by the Secretariat. The Secretary-General's estimates were in the amount of \$44,314,398. The Advisory Committee recommended to the General Assembly that this amount be reduced by nearly \$1,800,000. The Secretary-General agreed to accept many of the reductions before the proposed budget was considered by the Fifth Committee (administrative) of the Assembly, but he informed the Fifth Committee that he considered

certain proposed reductions to be destructive of good administration and felt obliged to contest them.

Over the ensuing 8 weeks of the Assembly's consideration of the matter, the Fifth Committee examined the budget estimates, heard the responsible officers of the Secretariat and the chairman of the Advisory Committee, and decided each item on its merits. In some cases the Secretary-General submitted revised estimates during the course of the session which approached the Advisory Committee's figures and were accepted. In other cases the Fifth Committee itself proposed the amount by which the estimates should be reduced. Due to the widespread devaluation of currencies which took place in September, a reduction of \$500,000 was applied to the budget as a whole, representing the anticipated saving on United Nations expenditures in "soft" currency areas. Through a resurvey of contractual printing costs, a reduction of over \$200,000 was made on the total estimated outlay for this item. At the same time, however, certain decisions of the General Assembly added new items of expense, particularly the decision approving the establishment of an international regime for Jerusalem, which alone added \$8,000,000 to the budget.

The final recommendation of the Fifth Committee was for a budget of \$49,641,773. This was submitted to the plenary session on the last day of the Assembly and approved by a vote of 48 (including the United States) to 0, with 7 abstentions (including the Soviet bloc). This amount is to be met in part by miscellaneous income in the amount of \$5,091,740, and by savings and adjustments from prior years in the amount of \$2,380,033, leaving a total of \$42,170,000 to be assessed to members. This figure exceeds the 1949 assessment by \$553,000.

The General Assembly also approved supplementary estimates for 1949 which result in a net saving on the 1949 budget of \$283,048. To this saving should be added \$108,890 representing excess miscellaneous income for 1949. Thus the United Nations is expected to close its 1949 books with a surplus of \$391,938.

3. ASSESSMENTS

The United Nations and each of the specialized agencies finances its regular operations almost entirely from annual assessments of members. Each agency adopts its own scale of assessments in which each member is assigned a particular percentage share. In the calculation of the United Nations scale, and likewise the scales of the larger permanent specialized agencies, particular emphasis has been placed on relative capacity to pay.

The prominence given in this respect to relative capacity to pay is a reflection of the obvious disparity of the relative economic positions among member states, and particularly of the great concentration of economic power in one country, the United States. Also, in the years since the war, such factors as war damage, dislocation of production, and financial difficulties have had to be taken into particular account. However, relative capacity to pay has not been the sole determinant of assessment scales. Other considerations have been the appropriateness of the maximum and minimum share, and in the case of some agencies the interest of each member in the agency's particular field of operations.

The United States has maintained, since the earliest of the postwar organizations were in their formative stages, that in normal times no international organization of sovereign states should depend to an unreasonable and preponderant degree on the contribution from any one member for financial support of its ordinary program. It has been our conviction that excessive dependence upon the financial contribution of one member is inconsistent with the international character of an agency. A distinction is made between the regular budgets of permanent organizations and the large-scale, special operating programs represented by the International Refugee Organization, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, and United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, because it is clear that, if emergency programs of this latter character are to be carried forward at an effective level of effort, this country must be a very large contributor.

After three years of debate, the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 adopted the principle that in normal times no single country should contribute more than one-third of the total annual member assessments of the United Nations. The same principle was subsequently adopted by the two permanent specialized agencies in which assessments for the largest contributor exceed one-third of the total: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization. In the other permanent specialized agencies the percentage of the largest contributor has been and is now below one-third of the total assessments. In the United Nations and the two specialized agencies just mentioned, the United States percentage shares still exceed the one-third ceiling accepted in principle. Although this Government recognizes that it is not practicable to expect its contributions to be reduced precipitously to the ceiling figure, it has continued to press energetically in these organizations for substantial adjustments in recognition of the ceiling principle and in 1949 was able to achieve a downward adjustment of the United States percentages in each of these three organizations. The

United States percentage in the World Health Organization was reduced from 38.54 percent to 36 percent, and, in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization from 38.47 percent to 37.82 percent.

The reduction in the case of the United Nations is important because of the example which United Nations action in this regard sets for the specialized agencies. The United Nations scale of contributions was reviewed during the summer of 1949 by the United Nations Committee on Contributions acting on the basis of instructions set forth in various resolutions of the General Assembly. The Committee found that the national income of most member states had increased markedly since 1946 when the present scale of assessments was established, but found also that many of these states still faced serious economic and financial problems that made it difficult to calculate accurately their capacities to pay. The Committee, therefore, did not feel at the time that it could recommend a comprehensive revision of the existing scale. It did recommend, however, and the General Assembly later approved, minor reductions in the assessments both of the United States and Sweden.

The reduction for the United States was .10 percent (one-tenth of one percent) and for Sweden .02 percent. The only other change in the United Nations scale for 1950 was the establishment of an assessment rate of 0.12 percent for Israel, a new member of the organization. The Committee on Contributions stated in its report to the General Assembly that the downward adjustment in the percentage of the United States represents a first step in implementing the principle that no member should contribute more than one-third of the total required to meet the expenditures of the organization. As a result of the reduction, the assessment of the United States to the United Nations for 1950 is 39.79 percent as against 39.89 previously. During 1950 the Committee on Contributions will continue to review the United Nations scale.

Except in the case of the World Health Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the rates of assessment on the United States are considerably lower in the specialized agencies than in the United Nations itself. In the last few years the International Labor Organization has been in process of revising its scale which had come to be considered inadequate and outdated by its membership generally, having been based on the League of Nations scale devised to meet conditions prevailing at an earlier time. In the course of this revision, the share of the United States for 1950 has increased from 18.35 percent to 22 percent. In the Food and Agriculture Organization, an increase in percentage from 25 percent to 27.10 percent was assigned to the United States as its share in the

distribution of a reserve for new members previously incorporated in the scale.

In this general connection, it is pertinent to note that in the autumn of 1949 a resolution was put forward in the General Assembly asserting that there should be a closer relationship between the scales of the specialized agencies and the scale of the United Nations, and authorizing the United Nations Committee on Contributions to advise the specialized agencies on request as to their scales of contributions. This resolution was adopted. The United States strongly opposed certain provisions and voted in the negative on the final vote.

4. ORGANIZATIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Within the United Nations system, relations between the United Nations and each of the specialized agencies are based upon the provisions of the Charter and upon agreements negotiated by the Economic and Social Council and approved by the General Assembly. In approving the agreements effective to date, the General Assembly instructed the Economic and Social Council to report within 3 years on progress made thereunder in the development of collaboration. Review of the agreements took place in 1949 in the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, and both bodies concluded that there was no occasion for change in the agreements at this time. The same view was expressed by all the specialized agencies. However, a further report on this subject is to be made by the Economic and Social Council to the next session of the General Assembly.

The Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly have a basic responsibility for review and comment on the programs and budgets of the specialized agencies. Furthermore, the Secretary-General in 1947, pursuant to a resolution of the Economic and Social Council, organized the Administrative Committee on Coordination. This Committee is composed of the Secretary-General and the chief executive officers of the specialized agencies. It has been concerned primarily with the coordination of program planning and of administrative policies of the organizations in the United Nations system. The Economic and Social Council emphasized in a resolution in 1949 that there should be a greater concentration of effort and of available resources and that urgent attention should be paid to the establishment of priorities. The Administrative Committee on Coordination is to report to the Council at an early session on the measures it has taken pursuant to this resolution.

While the formal agreements between the United Nations and specialized agencies and the development of such administrative devices as the Administrative Committee on Coordination may go far

toward assuring that the United Nations system operates as a coordinated whole, the basic responsibility rests with the governments which adopt the programs and vote the budgets of the organizations.

The General Assembly adopted in the autumn of 1949 a resolution urging member states to refrain from initiating new projects other than those which are urgently required and which can be effectively carried out. This resolution called attention to the related problems of the number of international organizations supported by the various governments, the number and complexity of subsidiary bodies of established organizations, and the number of international meetings demanding the attention of member governments.

On the initiative of the United States, the Economic and Social Council has been engaged in a study of international organizations not presently related to the United Nations or to any specialized agency. At its ninth session in the summer of 1949, the Council recommended to member governments that where possible these organizations be dissolved or merged with existing specialized agencies. The General Assembly has urged the Council to continue its efforts in this regard with a view toward simplifying the structure of the intergovernmental organizations, reducing over-all costs, and increasing the effectiveness of participation.

B. Action to Meet Staff Needs and Developing Work

I. STAFF ARRANGEMENTS

Two measures were instituted in 1949 to meet the staff needs of the United Nations Secretariat. The first is the staff assessment plan.

Staff assessments are a form of internal income tax levied by the organization on the compensation received by staff members of the United Nations. The staff assessment plan was established by the General Assembly late in 1948, it will be recalled, in order to bring about equalization in regard to the taxes to which United Nations salaries are subject. The plan was in operation during 1949.

It had been recognized very early by the General Assembly that if staff members of an international organization were subject to diverse systems of national income taxation, there could be no equality of treatment for the staff and the morale of the organization would be seriously impaired. Staff members receiving the same salaries for similar jobs, and making their permanent residence in the same area, would pay taxes on their salaries at varying rates and some would

pay none at all. To eliminate this inequality the General Assembly in 1946 requested members to exempt from national taxation the incomes received from the United Nations.

It has equally been appreciated that the employees of the United Nations should not enjoy a special advantage as a result of their exemption from national income taxation. The General Assembly had this consideration in mind when it decided at the outset that the salary scale of the organization should be fixed on a net basis, i. e., that the salary level should be lower than comparable non-United Nations salaries by the amount the United Nations employees would be saving if their salaries were exempt from taxation by the action of the several member states.

Because certain governments including the United States continued to refuse tax exemption to their nationals, and because the United Nations wished to give the most positive assurance possible of its desire to avoid the creation of a tax-privileged group, the General Assembly adopted a staff assessment plan after thorough consultation with a special group of tax experts. The plan incorporates the progressive features of modern income-tax systems and the rates of assessment are somewhat higher than current United States income-tax rates. It takes into account differences in family and dependency status, and the rates are progressively higher for persons in the higher salary brackets.

At the time the plan was adopted, the General Assembly directed that, as of the date of its effect, United Nations salaries should be adjusted upward to put them on a gross basis and to assure that staff members would continue to have roughly the same "take home" pay after assessment deductions. The amounts collected under the staff assessment plan go into the general funds of the United Nations and approximate the amount of the increase in the salary costs of the organization due to the change of salaries from a net to a gross basis.

Since these actions by the General Assembly appear to result in assessments which are immediately neutralized by salary adjustments, it is important to observe that the staff assessment system constitutes the only feasible way found in the existing circumstances to assure that the granting by national governments of tax exemption for United Nations salaries will not create a tax-privileged group of international public servants. As conditions of employment outside the Secretariat change, furthermore, the staff assessment system will provide a flexible means of achieving suitable adjustments. The system also makes appropriate recognition, as now exists on the national level, for differences in marital and dependency status among employees in the Secretariat.

Operation of the staff assessment plan itself has presented no unusual difficulties since its inauguration in January 1949. However, it will not be possible to say that it has succeeded in its purpose until all member governments have taken the necessary action to relieve their nationals on the United Nations Secretariat from what in substance amounts to double taxation. The Governments of the United States and Canada, the two countries principally concerned, have not yet taken such action. As a result, the General Assembly again this year felt obliged to make provision for reimbursing nationals of these two countries for taxes paid by these employees on their salaries earned during 1949, and also for reimbursement for taxes on their 1950 salaries if the action of member governments to relieve them from double taxation should be further delayed. It is generally realized that the continuation of reimbursements to the nationals of particular states from the general revenues of the organization is an unsatisfactory arrangement. Both the Congress of the United States and the Canadian Parliament are presently considering the necessary remedial legislation.

The second staff need that has been met concerns the permanent pension plan, which became effective January 23, 1949. This is an essential step to help make employment with the United Nations more attractive to the able personnel required and to secure for the organization the advantages of a career working force. Termed the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund, the plan is based on a contribution rate of 21 percent of net salaries, of which 7 percent is being contributed by staff members and 14 percent by the United Nations. It provides retirement and disability pensions for staff members and coverage for widows and orphans.

The plan is designed to meet the special characteristics of an international civil service. An international institution such as the United Nations must, particularly at the beginning, recruit individuals who have already attained a certain maturity. In addition, it must seek the assistance, for extended periods, of eminent specialists who cannot be recruited unless the organization can persuade them to interrupt their careers and in some cases sever their professional connections in their native countries.

The Pension Fund is kept entirely separate from other funds of the United Nations and is administered solely by a Staff Pension Committee. The Committee has nine members of which three are elected by the General Assembly and three by the staff, the remaining three being appointed by the Secretary-General.

Provision is made in the Pension Fund regulations for the participation of the specialized agencies and the admission of their personnel to membership. The following agencies have voted to become mem-

bers of the Pension Fund: the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

In addition to the above two measures, the Assembly established this year a United Nations administrative tribunal to hear appeals of staff members from decisions of the Secretary-General where there is disagreement on matters concerning the terms and conditions of employment. A staff member of the Secretariat may appeal to the tribunal only after he has had recourse to the procedures of internal administrative appeals provided in the staff rules. If, after hearing a case, the tribunal rules that a staff member has been denied his contractual rights, it may order specific performance or grant monetary relief. The tribunal consists of 7 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3 years, no 2 members to be of the same nationality. Rowland A. Egger of the University of Virginia is one of the seven appointed to the tribunal by the fourth General Assembly. The frequency and duration of the tribunal's sessions will depend upon the number of cases it is required to hear. The first session is scheduled for the spring of 1950.

2. DEVELOPING WORK

The Secretariat, as one of the 6 principal organs of the United Nations, has the task of servicing meetings of the other principal organs and their subsidiary bodies, preparing studies and background materials for such meetings, serving as the executive agent of these organs, and supplying information on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

During the year under review the Secretariat staff increased slightly, from 3,980 to 4,166. Of this total, 3,195 serve in New York. Included in this figure are those who service the special committees and commissions established by the General Assembly and the Security Council, although some of these are on field assignments. The 971 who serve in offices elsewhere are widely distributed: 837 are in the European office at Geneva, 61 in the information centers, and 73 in the economic commissions.

The chief organizational problems of the year arose in connection with the missions, information centers, and other such offices away from the headquarters in New York. The major difficulty in establishing administrative patterns for these activities arises from the wide differences in their size, scope, and objective. Progress has, however, been made in establishing sound administrative procedures and uni-

form standards of operation, in clarifying responsibilities, and in developing headquarters-field relationships.

The staffing of missions today constitutes one of the most difficult personnel problems with which the Secretariat is faced and one which has been taxing to the resources of the organization. During the past year 189 persons were placed on mission assignment with the special United Nations commissions and committees established by the Security Council and the General Assembly for work in troubled areas during the year. Of this number, 118 staff members were detailed from their regular assignments at Lake Success while 71 were recruited expressly to serve on these missions. The able and devoted service rendered by these staff members, frequently under most difficult circumstances, was outstandingly exemplified by the role played by Ralph J. Bunche, Top-Ranking Director in the Trusteeship Division, as Acting Mediator in the negotiations of the cease-fire and armistice agreements concerning Palestine.

The program for the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees, which has been described in earlier pages of this report, represents a new type of organizational approach to the work of the Secretariat in that it utilizes the services of private disaster relief agencies as well as those of appropriate specialized agencies. As a result it has been possible to operate with a very small staff located at Geneva, where responsibility is centered for solicitation of funds, program reporting, financial control and accounting, and purchase and exchange of supplies. Field offices responsible for the purchase, receipt, and allocation of supplies are located in Cairo and Beirut.

Fifteen information offices of the United Nations are now functioning. During the year centers started operations from Buenos Aires for Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay; from Cairo for Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen; and from Sydney for Australia and New Zealand. Other centers are located in Copenhagen, London, Mexico City, Moscow, New Delhi, Paris, Praha, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai, Tehran, Warsaw, and Washington. In most of the new centers the organizational phase has been completed, and they already are taking their part as integral units of the United Nations to promote understanding of all aspects of the organization and of the specialized agencies. The General Assembly in the autumn of 1949 authorized the Secretary-General to establish one further information center, in Monrovia, Liberia.

Appendixes

December 31, 1949



THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

Each of the organs of the United Nations proper and each of the specialized agencies are identified briefly below. Together these constitute what has increasingly come to be known as the United Nations system.

The United Nations proper consists of six principal organs, together with their subsidiary commissions, committees or other bodies. These organs are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat of the United Nations.

The specialized agencies are all intergovernmental organizations, established separately from each other and from the United Nations itself. Some have less wide membership than the United Nations, others wider. Their distinguishing characteristic as specialized agencies is that the intergovernmental organizations which bear this title have direct relationship with the United Nations under agreements. The relationship is chiefly with the Economic and Social Council as the organ of the United Nations which, under the authority of the General Assembly, has coordinative functions in the fields of work on which the specialized agencies are engaged. There are today 10 such agencies and 3 more are in the formative stages. These 13 existing and contemplated agencies are in the fields of food and agriculture, labor, financing of reconstruction and development, monetary stabilization, civil aviation, educational, scientific and cultural relations, health, postal communications, telecommunications, refugees, meteorology, shipping, and in trade, the latter being least advanced toward establishment.

Information is arranged below concerning first United Nations organs and then specialized agencies. United States representation in all parts of the United Nations system during 1949 follows in appendix II.

A. The United Nations

1. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 59 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan ✓	Costa Rica ✓	Honduras ✓
Argentina ✓	Cuba ✓	Iceland ✓
Australia ✓	Czechoslovakia ✓	India ✓
Belgium ✓	Denmark ✓	Iran ✓
Bolivia ✓	Dominican Republic ✓	Iraq ✓
Brazil ✓	Ecuador ✓	Israel (admitted 1949) ✓
Burma ✓	Egypt ✓	Lebanon ✓
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic ✓	El Salvador ✓	Liberia ✓
Canada ✓	Ethiopia ✓	Luxembourg ✓
Chile ✓	France ✓	Mexico ✓
China ✓	Greece ✓	Netherlands ✓
Colombia ✓	Guatemala ✓	New Zealand ✓
	Haiti ✓	

Nicaragua ✓	Saudi Arabia ✓	Union of Soviet Socialist ✓
Norway ✓	Sweden ✓	Republics
Pakistan ✓	Syria ✓	United Kingdom ✓
Panama ✓	Thailand ✓	United States ✓
Paraguay ✓	Turkey ✓	Uruguay ✓
Peru ✓	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist ✓	Venezuela ✓
Philippine Republic ✓	Republic ✓	Yemen ✓
Poland ✓	Union of South Africa ✓	Yugoslavia ✓

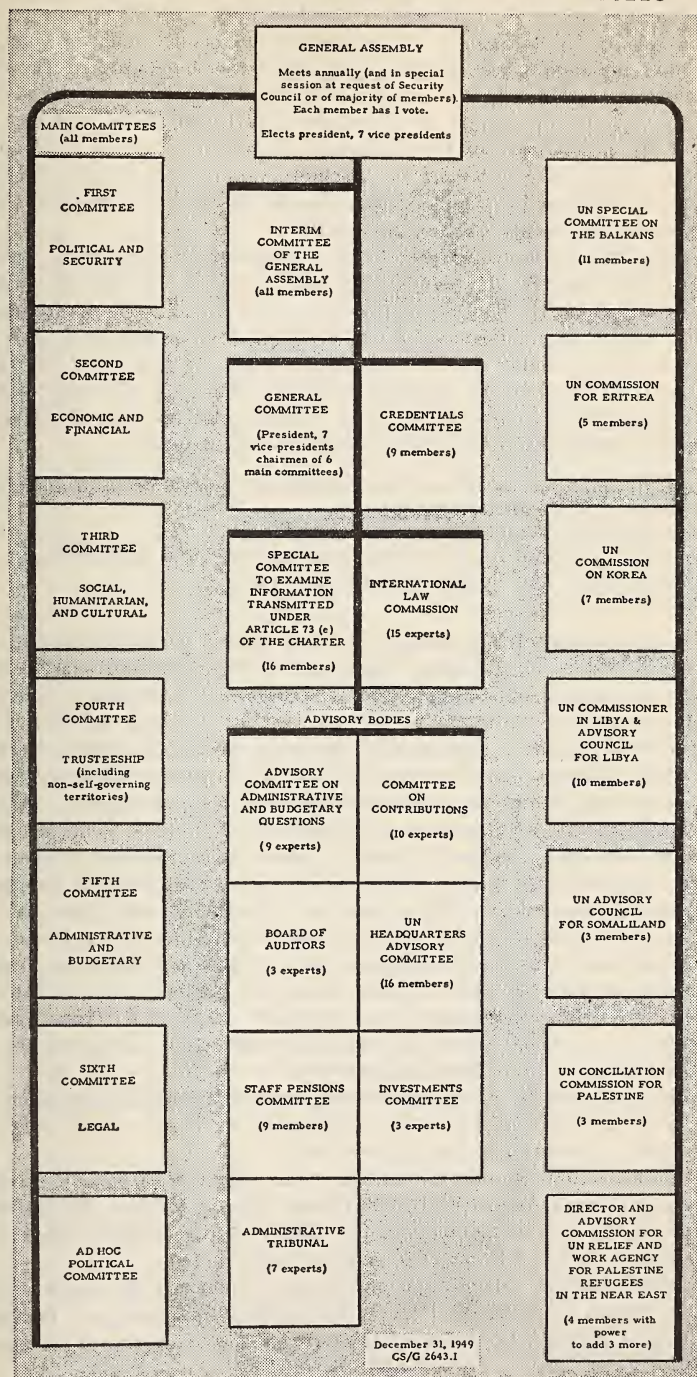
Under the Charter, the General Assembly is given broad powers touching upon every phase of the activities of the United Nations. It may make recommendations with regard to any questions within the scope of the Charter, except for disputes or situations actually being dealt with by the Security Council; it may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security; it may initiate studies for the promotion of international cooperation in the political, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, for the progressive development and codification of international law, and for the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all peoples. Moreover, in at least one sense, the General Assembly is the constituent body of the organization since it elects the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Economic and Social Council, the nonadministering members of the Trusteeship Council, and the members of the various subsidiary bodies of the United Nations which report to it. The Assembly reaches decisions by majority vote in committees and in plenary sessions except for certain matters which require a two-thirds vote.

In 1949 the Assembly convened twice. The first meeting, from April 5 to May 18, 1949, was a continuation or second part of the Third Regular Session of the Assembly which was held in Paris during September–December 1948. The Assembly at this time completed action on those agenda items not disposed of at Paris. Since this session was a continuation of the Third Session, Herbert V. Evatt, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia, continued as president of the Assembly. The other officers, who remained the same with two exceptions in which the individuals elected in September 1948 were not present at the second part of the session, were the seven vice presidents, namely the heads of the Delegations of China, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., the United States, Mexico, and Poland; and the chairmen of the main committees, First, Fernand van Langenhove (Belgian); Second, H. Santa Cruz (Chilean); Third, Charles Malik (Lebanese); Fourth, Nasrollah Entezam (Iranian); Fifth, George Ignatieff (Canadian); and Sixth, Ricardo Alfaro (Panamanian). The chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee was Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines.

The Fourth Regular Session of the Assembly convened on September 20, 1949, at New York and adjourned December 10 upon completion of its business. For this session the Assembly elected as its president, Carlos P. Romulo (Philippine) and China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, Brazil, and Pakistan as vice presidents. The chairmen of the main committees were, respectively, L. B. Pearson (Canadian), H. Santa Cruz (Chilean), Carlos E. Stolk (Venezuelan), H. Lannung (Danish), A. Kyrrou (Greek), and M. Lachs (Polish). Nasrollah Entezam of Iran was elected Chairman of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The Fourth Assembly decided that future sessions should open and close with a minute of silence devoted to prayer and meditation.

The officers of the General Assembly, including the president, the seven vice presidents and the chairmen of the six main committees, comprise the General Committee. The chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee is *ex officio* a

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS COMMITTEES



member, but without vote. The Assembly's rules of procedure provide that this body serve as a steering committee for the Assembly. It considers and reports to the Assembly on its agenda, the allocation of agenda items to committees, and agenda items proposed for inclusion after the convening of the session. It assists the president in the general conduct of the work of the Assembly, chiefly the agenda for plenary meetings, the priority of items, and the coordination of the proceedings of the Assembly's committees. It is most active in the beginning days of a session of the Assembly but meets on occasion throughout sessions. In addition its members, particularly the president and the chairmen of committees, frequently consult informally.

The committee structure of the General Assembly illustrates the variety of subjects which comprise its agenda each year. The 68 items of the agenda of the Fourth Regular Session were referred to the six main committees of the Assembly and to an additional *Ad Hoc* Political Committee which was set up to share with the regular political committee the heavy burden of dealing with all the political items on the Assembly's agenda. On each of these committees, all member states are represented. The main committees, for which provision is specifically made in the Assembly's rules of procedure, are:

1. Political and Security Committee (including the regulation of armaments);
2. Economic and Financial Committee;
3. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee;
4. Trusteeship Committee (including non-self-governing territories);
5. Administrative and Budgetary Committee; and
6. Legal Committee

While the Assembly itself meets in regular session each year and in special session as occasion may demand, many of its functions are carried on continuously by various subsidiary bodies which it has established to deal with particular problems. Perhaps the most important of these subsidiary bodies is the Interim Committee (often called the Little Assembly), which meets when the Assembly is not in actual session and on which every member has the right to be represented. However, the Soviet group has not participated. This Committee, which was set up at the Second Regular Session of the General Assembly, was established on a continuing basis by the Fourth Regular Session. It is given the task of performing certain preparatory and follow-up functions for the Assembly in the political field, as well as a broad mandate to continue certain studies already under way with respect to the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Interim Committee convened on January 31, 1949, and met from time to time either in full session or in smaller working committees until August 17, 1949. Its officers were Selim Sarper (Turk), chairman; Eduardo Anze Matienzo (Bolivian), vice chairman; and George Ignatieff (Canadian), rapporteur.

The following subsidiary organs of the General Assembly have been set up to deal with more specialized fields. The functions of these subsidiary organs are described in detail in the body of the report.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) is composed of representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, seats being held open for Poland and the U.S.S.R. which have never participated.

The United Nations Commission on Korea is composed of representatives of Australia, China, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, and Turkey.

The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine is composed of representatives of France, Turkey, and the United States.

The Advisory Commission for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East consists of representatives of France, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States who have authority to add three additional members from governments contributing to the program of economic development for the area.

Three bodies were established during 1949 to deal with problems arising out of the disposition of the former Italian colonies. These include the United Nations Commissioner for Libya, Adrian Pelt, and a United Nations Council for Libya consisting of representatives of Egypt, France, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the United States and one representative of the people of each of the three regions of Libya, plus one representative of the Libyan minorities. The United Nations Advisory Council for Somaliland is composed of representatives of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. The United Nations Commission for Eritrea is constituted of representatives of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa.

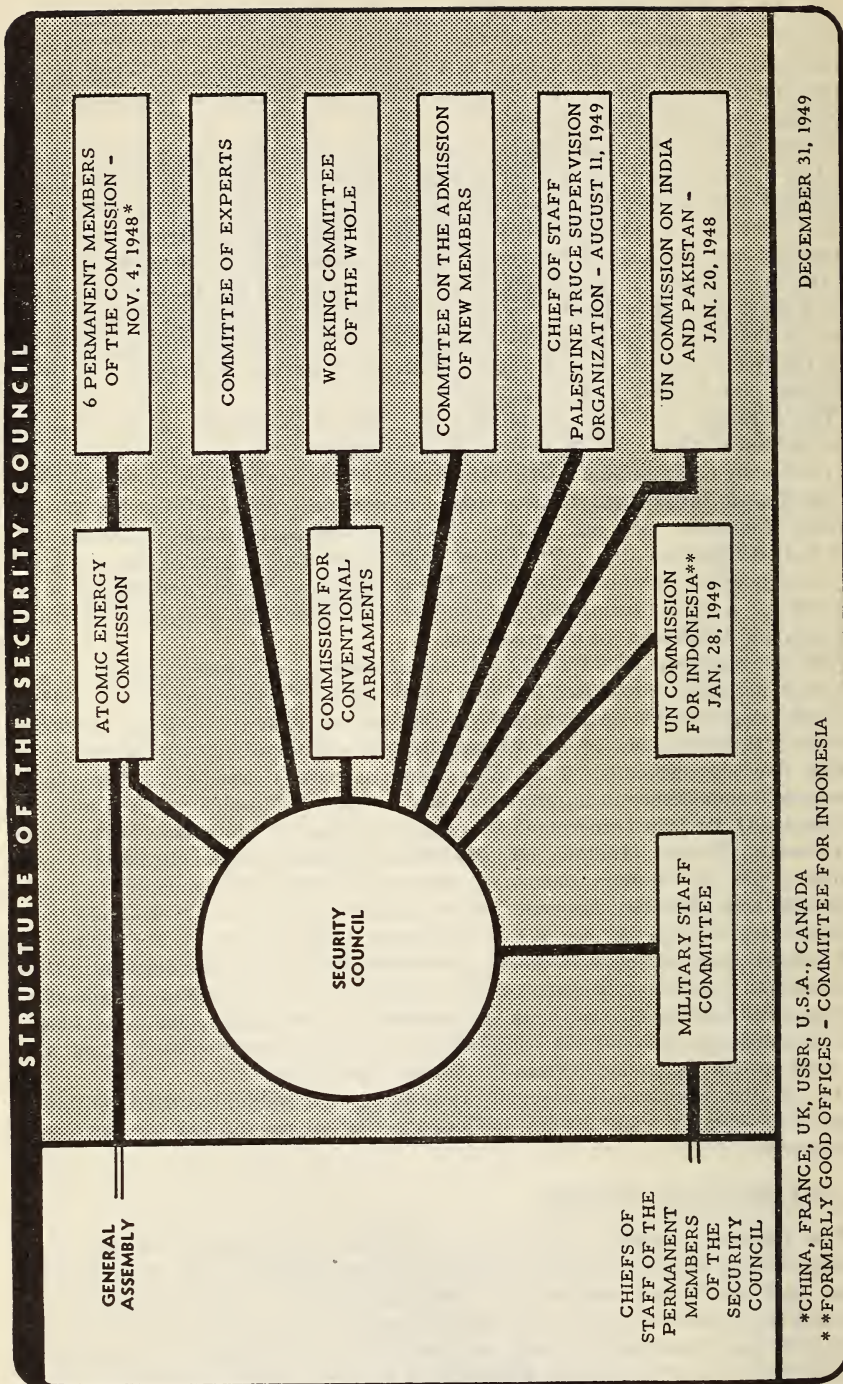
The Assembly has now established the Special Committee on Information transmitted under article 73 (e) of the Charter for a 3-year period rather than as previously on an annual basis. The Committee is composed of those members of the United Nations transmitting information in accordance with article 73 (e), namely Australia, Belgium, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and an additional eight members elected by the General Assembly. In 1949, U.S.S.R., Egypt, India, and Brazil were elected for a 3-year term; Mexico and the Philippines for a 2-year term; and Sweden and Venezuela for a 1-year term.

The International Law Commission, established by a statute approved by the General Assembly November 21, 1947, held its first session April 12 to June 9, 1949. All 15 of the members were elected by the General Assembly November 3, 1948. The members of the Commission do not represent the countries of which they are nationals. They act in their individual capacity as "persons of recognized competence in international law." The Commission is now composed of Manley O. Hudson (American) chairman; Vladimir M. Koretsky (Soviet) and Sir Benegal N. Rau (Indian) vice chairmen; Gilberto Amado (Brazilian) rapporteur, and the following members: Ricardo J. Alfaro (Panamanian), James Leslie Brierly (British), Roberto Cordova (Mexican), J. P. A. Francois (Dutch), Shuhsi Hsu (Chinese), Faris Bey el-Khoury (Syrian), A. E. F. Sandstrom (Swedish), Georges Scelle (French), Jean Spiropoulos (Greek), Jesus M. Yepes (Colombian), Jaroslav Zourek (Czechoslovak). The Commission is governed by its statute and is charged with the promotion of the progressive development of international law and the codification of public international law, as well as with specific assignments from the General Assembly.

In addition, the General Assembly is assisted in its administrative and budgetary functions by small bodies composed not of representatives of states but of experts.

2. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, on the basis of the Charter criterion that "due regard" shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations, and to equitable geographical distribution. The non-permanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.



During 1949 the membership was as follows:

Permanent Members

China
France
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
United Kingdom
United States

Nonpermanent Members

Term expires December 31, 1949 *Term expires December 31, 1950*

Argentina Cuba
Canada Egypt
Ukrainian Soviet Social-ist Republic Norway

On October 20, 1949, the General Assembly elected Ecuador, India, and Yugoslavia for 2-year terms on the Council, to replace Argentina, Canada, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on January 1, 1950.

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate without vote in the Council's discussion of a question if the Council considers that member's interests are especially affected. Any state, member or nonmember of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute being considered by the Council is invited to participate without vote in the discussions concerning that dispute.

Decisions in the Security Council are taken by an affirmative vote of 7 members. Decisions on substantive questions are, however, adopted only if no permanent member casts a negative vote. The only exception to this rule is that in regard to measures for peaceful settlement a party to a dispute must refrain from voting.

Members of the United Nations have, in the Charter, given to the Security Council the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security and have agreed that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Council is acting for all members. They have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions.

The Security Council functions continuously. During 1949 the Security Council held 62 meetings, all at Lake Success and at Flushing, New York. This is not as many as in earlier years: 88 in 1946, 137 in 1947, and 168 in 1948. Most meetings are open, only two being closed this year (when the Council's annual report to the Assembly was being discussed). The president of the Council is one of the 11 representatives of members, each of whom serves in rotation for a month. Ambassador Warren R. Austin, United States Representative, was president during October, 1949.

The following standing and *Ad Hoc* committees and commissions report to the Security Council:

The Committee of Experts, on which all members of the Security Council are represented, examines the rules of procedure and such other matters as are entrusted to it by the Council. This Committee held one meeting during 1949. The Council's rules are still "provisional."

The Committee on the Admission of New Members, composed of representatives of all members of the Security Council, examines the credentials of prospective new members of the United Nations. This Committee held six meetings during 1949.

The Military Staff Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives, is established in accordance with article 47 of the Charter and advises and assists the Security Council on all questions relating to the Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command

of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament. During 1949 the Committee held 25 meetings.

The Atomic Energy Commission, on which all members of the Security Council and Canada (even when not a member of the Council) are represented, was established by the General Assembly to deal with the problems of establishing effective international control of atomic energy and related matters. During 1949 the Commission held eight meetings, its final one being on July 29. Since that time, pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of November 4, 1948, and a decision taken by a majority of the members of the Commission, the negotiating responsibility has been transferred to the permanent members of the Security Council and Canada for the time being.

The Commission for Conventional Armaments, on which each member of the Security Council has a representative, is charged with formulating recommendations for the regulation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces and for practical and effective safeguards in this connection. During 1949 the Commission, including its working committee of the whole, held a total of nine meetings.

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, composed of representatives of Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, and the United States, was established by the Security Council in 1948 to make its good offices available to the Governments of India and Pakistan in order to bring about a solution of the future of the state of Kashmir in accordance with the will of its people. During 1949 the Commission held 174 meetings at various places in India, Pakistan, and Kashmir, at Geneva, and at New York.

The United Nations Commission for Indonesia (formerly the Committee of Good Offices), composed of representatives of Australia, Belgium, and the United States, was set up to render its good offices to the Netherlands and Indonesia in an effort to get both parties to negotiate their differences, observe their compliance with cease-fire orders, mediate special issues between them, and make concrete proposals to the parties for solution to their differences. During 1949 the Commission and its various working groups held numerous meetings in Batavia (now Djakarta), and at The Hague.

3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

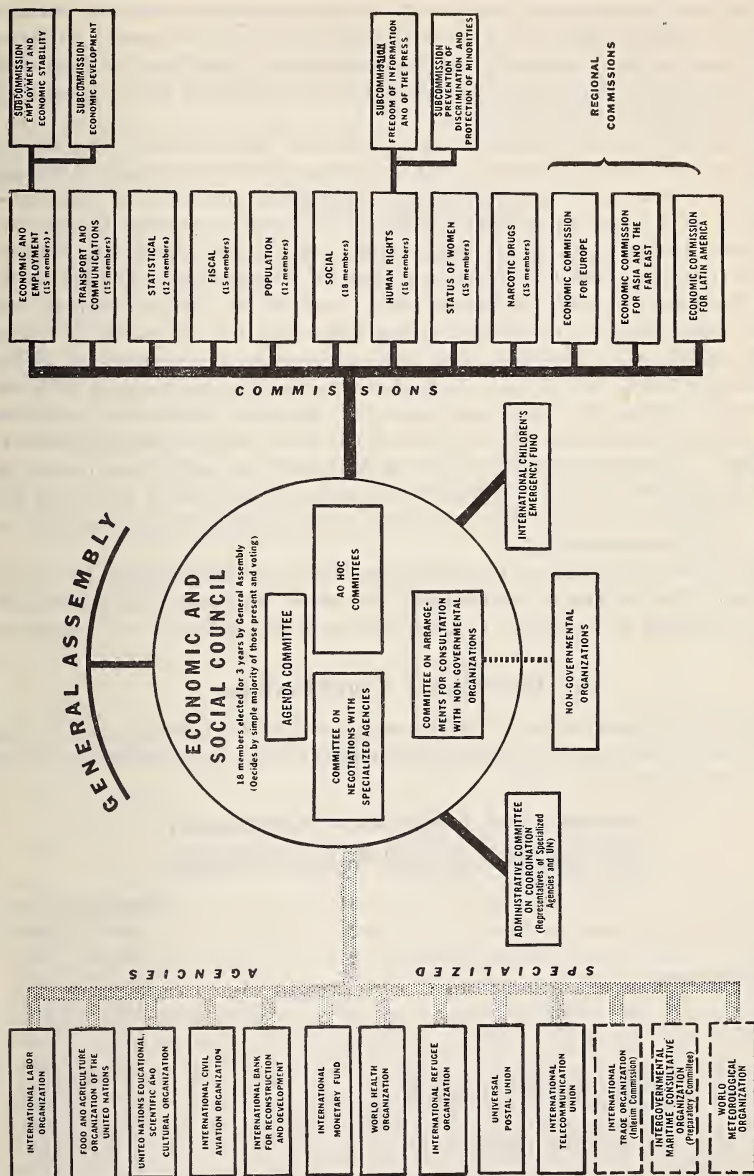
The Economic and Social Council is responsible for making or initiating studies and reports concerning international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters; for the promotion of respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and for making recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

The Council is composed of one representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. During 1949 the following were represented:

<i>Term expires December</i> 31, 1949	<i>Term expires December</i> 31, 1950	<i>Term expires December</i> 31, 1951
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	Australia	Belgium
Lebanon	Brazil	Chile
New Zealand	Denmark	China
Turkey	Poland	France
United States	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	India
Venezuela	United Kingdom	Peru

December 31, 1949

STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL



The following were elected to serve through 1952:

Canada	Iran	Pakistan
Czechoslovakia	Mexico	United States

As a rule, two sessions, each lasting approximately six weeks, are held during a year. The eighth session was held at Lake Success from February 7 to March 18, 1949, and the ninth session in Geneva, Switzerland, from July 5 to August 15, 1949. The Representative from New Zealand, the Honorable James Thorn, was elected president for the year 1949.

The Council has nine functional commissions and three regional commissions. The work of the Council itself is carried on through plenary meetings and through the Council's Economic Committee, Social Committee, Coordination Committee, Committee on Non-governmental Organizations, Committee on Negotiations with Specialized Agencies, which is charged with negotiating agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies whereby the activities of the latter organizations are coordinated with those of the United Nations, and various other committees established as and when necessary for specific purposes.

Much consideration was given this year to economic development of underdeveloped countries. The Council worked out an expanded program for technical assistance, including the ways and means of obtaining coordinated programs among specialized agencies and the United Nations and of selecting projects to be undertaken. Guiding principles and the obligations to be undertaken by participating governments have been agreed to, as well as standards of work and personnel. During the coming year, provisions for financing and starting of these programs will be undertaken.

Among other important matters considered by the Council during 1949 were the annual report on the *World Economic Situation*, the question of a *Survey of Forced Labor and Measures for its Abolition*, and the reports of the specialized agencies.

(a) Functional Commissions

All functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council meet in New York at Lake Success as a rule, though meetings can and are held elsewhere when useful to the work.

Economic and Employment Commission

1949 chairman: Roland Wilson, Australia

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Canada.....	Dec. 31, 1949
China.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Czechoslovakia.....	Dec. 31, 1949
India.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Norway.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Australia.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Cuba.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1950
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Belgium.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Brazil.....	Dec. 31, 1951
France.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Poland.....	Dec. 31, 1951
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1951

This Commission is charged with the responsibility of advising the Council on general economic matters. In practice, notably in 1949, the Commission has devoted itself primarily to the related questions of economic stability and full employment on one hand and of the economic development of underdeveloped areas on the other. The department of the United Nations Secretariat which serves the Commission is also charged with tasks in connection with the United Nations' plans regarding technical assistance for the development of underdeveloped areas, as well as with the task of making the various studies required by the Commission and by the Council. The Commission met once, in its fourth session, in 1949.

Fiscal Commission

1949 chairman: Pavel M. Chernyshov, U. S. S. R.

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Colombia.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Cuba.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Lebanon.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Poland.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1949
China.....	Dec. 31, 1950
France.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Union of South Africa.....	Dec. 31, 1950
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Belgium.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Czechoslovakia.....	Dec. 31, 1951
New Zealand.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Pakistan.....	Dec. 31, 1951
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1951

This Commission and the Fiscal Division of the United Nations Secretariat, which operates under the Commission's direction, are charged principally with the task of helping member nations with the elimination of double taxation—in other words, helping to work out agreements between member states under which an individual or a business concern living or working in two countries will not be taxed twice for the same thing. They are also charged with the collection, digestion, and publication of data regarding the public finance of member states (their national and international debt, methods of tax assessment and collection, methods of taxation of foreign nationals, etc.). During 1949, the Commission met once in its second session and considered a series of technical problems which had been raised in the field of double taxation—for example, the question of whether agreements for the relief of double taxation should cover penalties for tax evasion, whether there should be a special chamber established within the International Court of Justice to cover international tax disputes, and whether individual taxpayers should have access to it.

Transport and Communications Commission

1949 chairman: J. J. Oyeveaar, the Netherlands

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Chile.....	Dec. 31, 1949
China.....	Dec. 31, 1949
France.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Norway.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Union of South Africa.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Czechoslovakia.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Egypt.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1950
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Yugoslavia.....	Dec. 31, 1950
India	Dec. 31, 1951
Netherlands.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Poland	Dec. 31, 1951
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Venezuela.....	Dec. 31, 1951

The Commission's chief responsibilities are to assist the Economic and Social Council in matters concerned with transport and communications problems and to advise on formation of any new international agencies in these fields and on coordination of the activities of existing agencies. Its program is being carried out through its annual meetings, through the specialized agencies, and special conferences called to meet specific problems not covered by existing organizations. The program embraces transport by sea, air, rail, highway, inland waterway, and pipeline; communications by radio, telephone, telegraph, and mail; coordination of sea-air rescue services; and simplification of governmental and commercial forms relating to passports, customs automobile registration, and measurement of ship tonnage, the complexities of which impede the international movement of persons and goods. This Commission held its third annual meeting at Lake Success in March 1949.

Statistical Commission

1949 chairman: P. J. Idenburg, the Netherlands

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Canada	Dec. 31, 1949
India.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Mexico	Dec. 31, 1949
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	Dec. 31, 1949
France	Dec. 31, 1950
Norway.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Turkey	Dec. 31, 1950
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1950
China	Dec. 31, 1951
Netherlands.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1951
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1951

The responsibility of the Commission is to settle questions of policy and to give direction to the statistical office of the United Nations Secretariat in regard to the collection and publication of statistics from each member state on a basis which will render them comparable with those of the other members, so that valid conclusions can be drawn from them on an international basis. The statistical office of the Secretariat serves the Commission, and carries on studies as to what terms should be used, what material should be gathered, and what techniques adopted. This office sends out questionnaires and publishes a *Monthly Bulletin*, a *Statistical Yearbook*, and statistical papers covering miscellaneous topics of special importance. During 1949 the Commission held its fourth session.

Population Commission

1949 chairman: Alberto Arca Parró, Peru

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Australia	Dec. 31, 1949
Canada	Dec. 31, 1949
France	Dec. 31, 1949
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	Dec. 31, 1949
Brazil	Dec. 31, 1950
Netherlands	Dec. 31, 1950
Peru	Dec. 31, 1950
Yugoslavia	Dec. 31, 1950
China	Dec. 31, 1951
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Dec. 31, 1951
United Kingdom	Dec. 31, 1951
United States	Dec. 31, 1951

Under its terms of reference, the Population Commission advises the Economic and Social Council with respect to all demographic matters falling within the competence of the United Nations. It is largely concerned with statistics and other information dealing with various aspects of censuses, migration, trends in the birth and death rates, infant mortality, and other population matters.

Social Commission

1949 chairman: W. B. Sutch, New Zealand

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Colombia	Dec. 31, 1949
Netherlands	Dec. 31, 1949
New Zealand	Dec. 31, 1949
Peru	Dec. 31, 1949
United Kingdom	Dec. 31, 1949
Yugoslavia	Dec. 31, 1949
Canada	Dec. 31, 1950
China	Dec. 31, 1950
Denmark	Dec. 31, 1950
Ecuador	Dec. 31, 1950
Iraq	Dec. 31, 1950
Poland	Dec. 31, 1950

	<i>Expiration date</i>
France.....	Dec. 31, 1951
India.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Turkey.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Union of South Africa.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1951
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1951

The Commission was established by the Economic and Social Council at its second session in June 1946. Its function is to advise the Council on social questions of a general character and particularly on matters in the social field not covered by specialized intergovernmental agencies. Its membership is limited to 18 governments elected by the Council for 3-year terms.

During 1949 the Commission held its fourth and fifth sessions. Because of the complex character of its work it was the only functional Commission of the Council meeting twice in 1949.

The United States, because of its recognized interest and developments in the field of social welfare, takes active part in the work of the Commission. It was reelected to the Commission in August 1949.

Commission on Human Rights

1949 chairman: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, United States

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Egypt.....	Dec. 31, 1949
France.....	Dec. 31, 1949
India.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Iran.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Australia.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Belgium.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Chile.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Philippines.....	Dec. 31, 1950
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Yugoslavia.....	Dec. 31, 1950
China.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Denmark.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Guatemala.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Lebanon.....	Dec. 31, 1951
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Uruguay.....	Dec. 31, 1951

The work of the Commission is directed toward preparing recommendations and reports for the Economic and Social Council dealing with the carrying out of the obligation assumed by members under the Charter to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Two subcommissions of the Commission on Human Rights have been established. The terms of reference of the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press were broadened in 1949 to authorize it to study and report to the Economic and Social Council on all issues and problems involved in the promotion of freedom of information. The Subcommittee consists of 12 experts who serve in their personal capacities and not as representatives of

governments. The member from the United States is Carroll Binder, editorial editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

The terms of reference of the Subcommittee for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities were also clarified and extended in scope in 1949. This second Subcommittee is authorized to make studies and recommendations—particularly in the light of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights—concerning the prevention of discrimination of any kind relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms and the protection of racial, national, religious, and linguistic minorities. The Subcommittee consists of 12 experts who serve in their personal capacities and not as representatives of governments. The member from the United States is Jonathan W. Daniels of Raleigh, North Carolina.

Commission on the Status of Women

1949 chairman: Mme. Marie-Hélène Lefauchaux, France

	<i>Expiration date</i>
Mexico.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Syria.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Dec. 31, 1949
United Kingdom.....	Dec. 31, 1949
United States.....	Dec. 31, 1949
Costa Rica.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Denmark.....	Dec. 31, 1950
France.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Turkey.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Venezuela.....	Dec. 31, 1950
Australia.....	Dec. 31, 1951
China.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Greece.....	Dec. 31, 1951
Haiti.....	Dec. 31, 1951
India.....	Dec. 31, 1951

The United States has been a member of the Commission on the Status of Women since it was organized as a full Commission in 1947. In August 1949, the Economic and Social Council reelected the United States to a further term of 3 years.

The responsibilities of the Commission, as defined by the Economic and Social Council, "are to prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social, and educational fields," and to "make recommendations to the Council on urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights with the object of implementing the principle [under the Charter] that men and women should have equal rights, and to develop proposals to give effect to such recommendations."

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

1949 chairman: Stane Krasovec, Yugoslavia

France	Peru	Mexico
India	Union of Soviet Socialist	Egypt
China	Republics	Netherlands
United States	United Kingdom	Iran
Turkey	Canada	Poland
	Yugoslavia	

A change in the procedure for making appointments to the Commission was effected by the Economic and Social Council's resolution of March 2, 1949, under which the Council during its ninth session elected 10 states to be members of the Commission for an indefinite period. Those states in the first two columns above fall into this category. The other five states were elected for a period of 3 years. All members are states important in producing or manufacturing drugs or in which illicit traffic is a serious problem.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs was established by a resolution of the Economic and Social Council on February 16, 1946.

It assists the Council in exercising such supervision over the application of international conventions and agreements dealing with narcotic drugs as may be assumed by or conferred on the Council; carries out such functions entrusted to the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs by such international conventions on narcotic drugs as the Council continues; advises the Council on the control of narcotic drugs and prepares such draft international conventions as may be necessary; and considers what changes may be required in existing machinery for the international control of narcotic drugs and submits proposals to the Council. The Commission holds annual sessions.

(b) Regional Commissions

Economic Commission for Europe¹

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

1949 chairman: Anders Friehagen, Norway

Belgium	Iceland	Ukrainian Soviet Social-
Byelorussian Soviet So-	Luxembourg	ist Republic
cialist Republic	Netherlands	Union of Soviet Socialist
Czechoslovakia	Norway	Republics
Denmark	Poland	United Kingdom
France	Sweden	United States
Greece	Turkey	Yugoslavia

The Commission affords a mechanism through which European governments may take concerted action, on an agreed basis, for their own reconstruction and development. This task involves such activities as allocation of coal and other commodities in short supply; reestablishment of international transport facilities and making of arrangements for the return of freight cars; standardization of rolling stock parts; discovery and breaking of "bottlenecks"; and a current economic survey of Europe. The Commission accomplishes its activities through annual meetings, and through numerous technical committees, subcommittees, and working parties.

During 1949, many of the purely emergency and reconstruction activities of the Commission were rendered unnecessary by the general European recovery, and the Commission is devoting more attention to long-term problems concerning coal, trade between Eastern and Western Europe, customs barriers and frontier formalities, and regulations governing international highway traffic.

¹ European states not members of the United Nations (except Spain) may also participate.

Economic Commission for Latin America

Headquarters: Santiago, Chile

1949 chairman: José Machado, Cuba

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
Colombia	Haiti	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Honduras	United States of America
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

This Commission is patterned after the Economic Commission for Europe and has similar functions. Since the economies of the various Latin American countries are not interdependent to a high degree, the Commission, which has been in operation for only 2 years, has so far confined itself largely to research activities. An example is the joint study of agricultural requisites in Latin America made in 1949 with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand

1949 chairman: Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Pakistan

Australia	Netherlands	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Burma	New Zealand	United Kingdom
China	Pakistan	United States
France	Philippines	
India	Thailand	

The associate members of the Commission, either non-self-governing territories in the region or territories self-governing but not members of the United Nations, are

Cambodia	Malaya and British Borneo	Rest of Indonesia ¹
Ceylon		Republic of Korea
Hong Kong	Nepal	Vietnam
Laos	Republic of Indonesia ¹	

The Commission's functions are similar to those of the Economic Commission for Europe. Since the economies of the various countries in the area have not been developed in connection with each other on an integrated basis and since there is less information about them already available, the Commission has concentrated on basic studies which have attempted to assemble the essential data with regard to the economic situation in the area and has begun to serve as a clearing house of information to stimulate trade within the region.

4. THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council consists of 12 members of the United Nations, composed of equal numbers of members which administer trust territories and which do not. It is composed of three groups of states.

¹ These two associate memberships will be combined under the terms of the Hague Agreement establishing the United States of Indonesia.

All members administering trust territories

Australia	France	United Kingdom
Belgium	New Zealand	United States

Members mentioned by name in article 23 of the Charter and not administering trust territories

China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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Members elected, for 3-year terms, by the General Assembly

Argentina	Iraq
Dominican Republic	Philippines

On October 20, 1949, the General Assembly elected Argentina to replace Mexico, and Iraq was reelected. The Dominican Republic was elected to serve for one year to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Costa Rica from the Council.

The Trusteeship Council is established by article 7 of the Charter of the United Nations as one of the principal organs of the United Nations. Under the authority of the General Assembly, the Council considers reports submitted by the administering authority; accepts petitions concerning trust territories and examines them in consultation with the administering authority; provides for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and takes other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreement.

The Security Council, pursuant to article 83 of the Charter, requested on March 8, 1949, the assistance of the Trusteeship Council in performing those functions for the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in strategic areas. Accordingly, the Trusteeship Council, at its fifth session, examined the first report on the trust territory of the Pacific Islands, a strategic trust territory administered by the United States.

During 1949 the Trusteeship Council held two regular and two special meetings at the seat of the United Nations in New York. During its fourth regular session, January 24 to March 25, the Council held 48 meetings. Its fifth session was held from June 15 to July 22 and consisted of 29 meetings. The first special session of the Council convened to consider the membership of the visiting mission to West Africa and completed its work in only one meeting held on September 27, 1949. After the General Assembly assigned to the Council tasks relating to Italian Somaliland and Jerusalem, the Trusteeship Council was called into its second special session on December 8. Eight meetings were held on these subjects and the second special session adjourned on December 20.

The Trusteeship Council during 1949 established three major *ad hoc* committees, in addition to a number of drafting and working committees, to assist in its work. The Committee on Administrative Unions held 17 meetings during the period February 2 to March 31, and May 24 to June 3. The Committee on Higher Education held 18 meetings from June 1 to July 12. The Committee on Italian Somaliland, formed in December, held an organizing meeting on December 13. It decided to meet again in Geneva on January 9, 1950.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

DECEMBER 31, 1949

SECURITY COUNCIL

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship Agreements and the appointment of the Administrators, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the Trusteeship System which are of a political, economic, social and educational nature in the strategic areas.

ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

UNITED STATES

TERRITORY
OF
THE
PACIFIC
ISLANDSSTRATEGIC
TRUST
TERRITORY

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

FUNCTIONS

Under authority of General Assembly, to consider reports from Administering Authorities based on questionnaires formulated by Trusteeship Council; accept and examine petitions; provide for periodic visits to Trust Territories; assist the Security Council in United Nations functions relating to political, economic, social and educational matters in strategic areas under the Trusteeship System; undertake such other actions as are in conformity with terms of Trusteeship Agreements.

ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES

UNITED KINGDOM

TANGANYIKA

TOGOLAND

CAMEROONS

WESTERN
SAMOA

TOGOLAND

CAMEROONS

RUANDA-
URUNDI

**NAURU

NEW
GUINEA

TRUST TERRITORIES

*MEMBERSHIP (Art. 86): Members administering Trust Territories permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories; and enough other Members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms to ensure that there is an equal number of Members which administer Trust Territories and those which do not.

** Administered by Australia, on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom as joint Administering Authorities.

ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

BELGIUM

FRANCE

NEW ZEALAND

Also during 1949 the Council sent out its second regular visiting mission. This mission visited the four trust territories in West Africa.

The Council devoted itself during the year wholly to its substantive work, its organizational problems having been disposed of in previous years.

5. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice is, by chapter XIV of the Charter of the United Nations, "the principal judicial organ of the United Nations." Its jurisdiction is determined by the Statute of the Court annexed to and forming an integral part of the Charter. The Statute came into force on October 24, 1945. The inaugural session of the Court was held in April 1946.

The Court is permanently in session except during the judicial vacations, and functions according to rules of court which, by article 30 of the Statute, it is authorized to lay down. There are also staff regulations and instructions for the registry. The seat of the Court is established at The Hague, but it is not prevented from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere as it may consider desirable. The president resides at the seat of the Court. By an agreement concluded between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the president of the Carnegie Foundation at The Hague, the Peace Palace formerly also occupied by the Permanent Court of International Justice (the predecessor Court under the League of Nations) has been made available to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

The Court consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The first election of judges took place in London in February 1946 during the First Session of the General Assembly. With the exception of the judges chosen at the first election, the members are elected for 9-year terms. Of the judges first elected, the terms of 5 expired at the end of 3 years and the terms of 5 more expire at the end of 6 years.

In October 1948, during the session of the General Assembly held in Paris, a second and partial election took place owing to the fact that the terms of the 5 judges with 3-year terms were due to expire in February 1949. These 5 judges were reelected for 9-year terms.

The present membership of the Court is as follows:

<i>Judges:</i>	<i>Term expires</i>
Jules Basdevant, president (France)-----	1955
José G. Guerrero, vice president (El Salvador)-----	1955
Alejandro Alvarez (Chile)-----	1955
Isidro Fabela Alfaro (Mexico)-----	1952
Green H. Hackworth (United States)-----	1952
Bohdan Winiarski (Poland)-----	1958
Milovan Zoricic (Yugoslavia)-----	1958
Charles de Visscher (Belgium)-----	1952
Sir Arnold McNair (United Kingdom)-----	1955
Helge Klaestad (Norway)-----	1952
Abdel H. Badawi Pasha (Egypt)-----	1958
Sergei B. Krylov (U. S. S. R.)-----	1952
John E. Read (Canada)-----	1958
Hsu Mo (China)-----	1958
José P. Azevedo (Brazil)-----	1955

Article 29 of the Statute of the Court provides that "with a view to the speedy despatch of business, the Court shall form annually a chamber composed of five judges which, at the request of the parties, may hear and determine cases by sum-

mary procedure. In addition, two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing judges who find it impossible to sit." The Chamber for Summary Procedure for May 3, 1949–May 2, 1950, is composed as follows:

Members:

President Basdevant

Vice president Guerrero

Judges:

Sir Arnold McNair

Sergei B. Krylov

Hsu Mo

Substitutes: Judges:

Green H. Hackworth

Charles de Visscher

The Registrar of the Court is Edvard Hambro. The Deputy-Registrar is Jean Garnier-Coignet.

6. THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Secretariat is the central point of contact in United Nations affairs between members themselves, between members and the principal organs, between the public and the organization, and between the organization and the specialized agencies. The Secretary-General, Trygve Lie of Norway, is the chief administrative officer. He and his staff provide secretariat services for the other principal organs, except for the International Court of Justice, which has its own administrative body at The Hague known as the Registry. Nationals of about 60 countries including a few nonmember countries are employed in the Secretariat. There are presently 4,166 employees on the staff, 3,195 serving in New York and 971 in other offices. The staff includes political scientists, historians, economists, lawyers, journalists, engineers, mimeograph operators, translators, librarians, and secretaries, as well as general administrators and persons in other fields of skill.

The Secretariat differs in two important aspects from the career services of national governments. A unique characteristic is that its staff is drawn from all over the world and represents diverse cultures and customs. This creates problems not encountered in a national civil service whose staff is drawn from a fairly homogeneous group. The second marked difference is that staff members are bound by an oath of loyalty to a non-national body. The oath of loyalty to the United Nations is, of course, not inconsistent with an individual's loyalty to his own government. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and his staff are proscribed by the Charter from seeking or receiving instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the United Nations. Each member has agreed to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

The Charter stipulates that the paramount consideration in the employment of personnel "shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity," due regard being paid to the "importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible." Guided thereby, the Secretary-General, with the assistance of a Personnel Selection Committee, has kept the qualifications of his staff under continuous review. Efforts continue to improve geographic distribution in the Secretariat. In reaching the desired percentage of nationals from any one country in the internationally recruited staff at headquarters, the Secretary-General uses a formula based primarily upon the

percentage which that country contributes to the financial support of the organization. This formula allows variations necessary to insure the flexibility essential to good administration. As of July 1, 1949, 46 of the 59 member nationalities were represented on the staff.

The Secretariat has four major tasks. The first is the servicing of meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice) and of their subsidiary bodies. Such service includes provision of physical arrangements and such technical services as translating and interpreting, preparation of minutes of the meetings, and procuring of documentation. The Secretariat also provides services and expert staff for the field missions, examples of which are the Commission for India and Pakistan, the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories.

The second task is preparation of studies and background material for meetings of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies. These papers are circulated to members in advance so far as is practicable. The third is to perform as executive agent of the other principal organs. For example, the Secretary-General is charged with the direction and administration of the relief program for Palestine refugees. He also plays an important role in the development of arrangements with specialized agencies for the coordination of activities and administrative and financial practices. The fourth is to provide information concerning the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations. The Department of Public Information utilizes the services of the press, radio, and other mass media, prepares and distributes pamphlets and posters, and provides speakers and assistance for private groups here and abroad.

Organization

The Secretary-General has, in addition to his own executive office, eight departments at headquarters and numerous centers of operation in the field. The executive office assists him in the performance of the functions for which he retains direct responsibility and undertakes the coordination of substantive and administrative questions relating to overseas missions. The two top-ranking directors in this office are Andrew Cordier (American), Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, and W. Martin Hill (British), Director of Coordination for Specialized Agencies and Economic and Social Matters.

The Department of Security Council Affairs is responsible for providing general administrative and other services to the Security Council and its subsidiary organs, the Atomic Energy Commission and the sponsor's consultations, the Commission for Conventional Armaments, and the First Committee of the General Assembly, its subcommittees, and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. It also assists the Secretary-General in the performance of his duties under article 99 of the Charter. This Department is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Konstantine Zinchenko (Soviet), and he is assisted by Top Ranking Director D. Protitch (Yugoslav).

The Department of Economic Affairs provides such services and assistance with respect to economic matters as are required by the Economic and Social Council, its commissions, their subordinate bodies, and the General Assembly. It provides other branches of the Secretariat with economic and statistical information and advice and publishes certain economic studies and reports. It maintains working relations with specialized agencies, intergovernmental agencies, and nongovernmental organizations concerned with international economic problems. Under resolution 200 (III) of the General Assembly, this department is responsible for the provision of facilities designed to assist member governments in the promotion of economic progress and development. It

is also responsible for arranging the provision of other expert assistance to member governments in accordance with resolution 51 (IV) of the Economic and Social Council. This department is headed by Assistant Secretary-General David Owen (British), who is assisted by Top Ranking Director Antoine Goldet (French).

The Department of Social Affairs provides secretariat assistance to the General Assembly and appropriate committees, to the Economic and Social Council, to the Social Commission, the Commissions on Human Rights, Status of Women, Population, Narcotic Drugs, and their subcommissions, and to all organs or branches of the Secretariat which may require information, technical advice, and other services in the fields of science, education, culture, refugees, social activities, demography, human rights, narcotic drugs, and public health. This Department is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Henri Laugier (French), and he is assisted by Top Ranking Director Mrs. Alva Myrdal (Swedish).

The Department for Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories is responsible for serving the Trusteeship Council with respect to all its functions under the Trusteeship System, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, the Special Committee on Information Transmitted under article 73(e) of the Charter and any special committee concerning matters of trusteeship and information from non-self-governing territories. It supplies other organs of the United Nations, specialized agencies, and departments of the Secretariat with information concerning trust territories, non-self-governing territories, and nonsecurity aspects of strategic areas, and provides background material, working papers, and other documents for the General Assembly. The Department is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Victor Hoo (Chinese). Top Ranking Director is Ralph J. Bunche (American), with Director Wilfred Benson (British) in charge of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The Department of Public Information advises the Secretary-General on all phases of information policy and carries out the information program of the United Nations; develops facilities and services for press, radio, film, and for other information media; and initiates and develops information activities to supplement the services of existing agencies on as wide a geographic basis as possible. It is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen (Chilean). Mr. Cohen is assisted by Top Ranking Director Tor Gjesdal (Norwegian).

The Legal Department advises the Secretariat and other organs of the United Nations on legal and constitutional questions, promotes the progressive development of international law and its codification, and maintains liaison with the International Court of Justice. It is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Ivan Kerno (Czech). The Top Ranking Director in the Department is A. H. Feller (American).

The Conference and General Services Department makes arrangements for servicing meetings of the General Assembly, the Councils, the commissions, subcommissions and committees, and special conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations. It provides the administrative channel for communications between the headquarter's organization and the European office. It is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Adrian Pelt (Dutch),¹ who is assisted by Top Ranking Director David Vaughan (American).

The Department of Administrative and Financial Services plans and executes the budgetary, personnel, and fiscal program of the United Nations; keeps

¹ After Mr. Pelt's resignation upon appointment as Commissioner for Libya, this appointment was vacant at the end of the year, pending a new appointment.

the Secretary-General informed on problems and developments in these fields which require his attention; provides staff assistance to the Secretary-General and to the Assistant Secretaries-General in administrative and organizational planning; provides data required by the General Assembly, Councils, and committees with respect to administrative, financial, and budgetary questions; maintains relationships with the Registrar of the International Court of Justice and the specialized agencies on administrative, financial, and budgetary questions; advises the Secretary-General on proposed programs of the organization prior to their adoption with respect to their personnel and financial implications; arranges with members for payment of their contributions; directs the activities of the headquarters planning office; and carries out such other functions as the Secretary-General may assign. This Department is headed by Assistant Secretary-General Byron Price (American); he is assisted by two Top Ranking Directors, Hans Anderson (Danish), Director of Finance, and Director of Personnel Georges Palthey (French).

The work of the United Nations Office at Geneva is concerned with:

(a) Provision of conference services and facilities for meetings held at Geneva, both of the United Nations and specialized agencies; (b) secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe; (c) provision of office accommodation and/or other services for the secretariats of specialized agencies in Geneva; (d) maintenance of United Nations properties (former League of Nations properties); (e) gathering and disseminating information regarding United Nations activities at Geneva, together with the allied task of disseminating information regarding activities at New York; (f) supervision of the joint secretariat of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Drug Supervisory Body and of staff members dealing with advisory social welfare activities in Europe; and (g) direction and administrative and financial work related to the above.

The work of the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe is directed by Executive Secretary Gunnar Myrdal (Swedish). The general operations of the Geneva Office are carried out under the direction of Top Ranking Director Wlodimierz Moderow (Polish).

In addition to these main offices the Secretary-General has set up small field offices to service the Economic Commissions for Asia and the Far East, the Economic Commission for Latin America, and the 15 information centers required by the Department of Public Information to carry out its responsibility for insuring that peoples in all parts of the world receive full information about the United Nations. The chief officials are as follows:

Regional Economic Commissions

(Other than ECE, above)

ECAFE: P. S. Lokanathan (Indian), Executive Secretary

ECLA: G. Martinez-Cabanas (Mexican), Executive Secretary

Information Centers

Buenos Aires: Enrique Loudet (Argentinian)

Copenhagen: Viggo A. Christensen (Danish)

London: George Ivan Smith (Australian)

Mexico City: Rafael Fusoni (Argentinian)

Cairo: Pierre Louis Falaize (French)

Moscow: Michael Vavilov (Soviet)

New Delhi: Boleslaw Leitgeber (Polish)

Paris: Rubens Borba de Moraes (Brazilian)

Praha: Olav Rytter (Norwegian)

Rio de Janeiro: Paul Vanorden Shaw (American)
 Shanghai: Henri Fast (Belgian)
 Sydney: William M. J. McNamara (Australian)
 Tehran: (vacant)
 Warsaw: (vacant)
 Washington: Arthur Sweetser (American)

In addition to these offices which are under the direct supervision of the Secretary-General, there is a Military Staff Committee secretariat which is responsible to and serves the Military Staff Committee, a subordinate organ of the Security Council. While the secretariat of this committee is organized as a unit independent of the Secretary-General, a liaison relationship exists in administrative matters and the expenses for the secretariat of the Military Staff Committee are included in the budget of the United Nations.

Advisory Committees

The General Assembly exercises control over and gives direction to the administrative processes and financial administration of the Secretariat through its Administrative and Budgetary Committee. In addition, it has created numerous expert bodies, the members of which serve on a continuing basis, to assist the Assembly and the Secretary-General in properly discharging their administrative and financial responsibilities. These include the following:

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, composed of nine members, to examine the budget of the United Nations and specialized agencies, and to assist the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. The nine members are Thanassis Agnides (Greek), Andre Ganem (French), William O. Hall (American), C. L. Hsia (Chinese), Valentin I. Kabushko (Soviet), Olyntho P. Machado (Brazilian), Sir William Matthews (British), Jan Papanek (Czechoslovak), and N. Sundaresan (Indian).

The Committee on Contributions, consisting of 10 members, to advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members are R. Asha (Syrian), H. Campion (British), René Charron (French), P. M. Chernyshev (Soviet), Seymour Jacklin (South African), Kan Lee (Chinese), Frank Pace (American), José Saenz (Mexican), Mitchell W. Sharp (Canadian), M. Z. N. Witteveen (Dutch).

The Administrative Tribunal, composed of seven members, to hear and pass judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. The seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, are Mme. Paul Bastid (French), Sir Sydney Caine (British), Lieutenant General His Highness Maharaja Jam Shri Digvijayasinghji Sahib (Indian), Roland Andrews Egger (American), Omar Loutfi (Egyptian), Emilio N. Oribe (Uruguayan), and Vladimir Outrata (Czechoslovak).

The Board of Auditors, to audit the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such specialized agencies as may request its services, is composed of three members serving for three years as follows: Auditor-General of Canada, Auditor-General of Colombia, Auditor-General of Denmark.

The Investments Committee, to advise the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund, is composed as follows: Ivar Rooth (Swedish), Leslie R. Rounds (American), and Jacques Rueff (French).

The Staff Pension Committee, to administer the Joint Staff Pension Fund, is composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, three members appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The

members and alternates elected by the Fourth Session of the General Assembly are R. T. Cristobal (Philippine), Nikolai I. Klimov (Soviet), and E. de Houtte-Castello (Colombian), members; and Carol C. Laise (American), A. Nass (Venezuelan), and P. Ordonneau (French), alternates. The members newly designated by the staff participants and the Secretary-General have not yet been announced.

B. The Specialized Agencies¹

The specialized agencies below are intergovernmental organizations which, in accordance with articles 57 and 63 of the Charter of the United Nations, have entered into relationship with the United Nations by agreements made with the Economic and Social Council and approved by the General Assembly.

1. INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse (American)

Afghanistan	Ecuador	Mexico
Albania	Egypt	Netherlands
Argentina	El Salvador	New Zealand
Australia	Ethiopia	Norway
Austria	Finland	Pakistan
Belgium	France	Panama
Bolivia	Greece	Peru
Brazil	Guatemala	Philippine Republic
Bulgaria	Haiti	Poland
Burma	Hungary	Portugal
Canada	Iceland	Sweden
Ceylon	India	Switzerland
Chile	Iran	Syria
China	Iraq	Thailand
Colombia	Ireland	Turkey
Costa Rica	Israel	Union of South Africa
Cuba	Italy	United Kingdom
Czechoslovakia	Lebanon	United States
Denmark	Liberia	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	Venezuela

The International Labor Organization consists of (1) the General Conference of the organization, which generally meets annually and is composed of worker, employer, and governmental delegates from each member country; (2) the Governing Body, which meets four times a year and is composed of the representatives of 16 governments and 8 representatives each of the worker and employer groups of the General Conference; and (3) the International Labor Office, which is the secretariat of the organization. The 1949 gross assessment budget of the International Labor Organization was \$5,185,539, of which the United States share was \$951,529 or 18.35 percent.

The International Labor Organization celebrates its 30th anniversary this year. It is a world center for all forms of information and statistics related to labor. It has adopted over 90 international conventions promoting labor and

¹This list does not include membership on United States Delegations to individual meetings of these organizations. See below, p. 236.

social welfare, and these have received more than a thousand ratifications. It is expanding its technical assistance program so as to assist countries to deal with employment and unemployment problems, to prepare the way for migration from surplus labor areas to underpopulated areas, to establish and strengthen national employment services with the object of using available manpower most efficiently and where needed, and to increase labor skills and productivity through vocational training and guidance programs, apprenticeship programs, and other industrial training programs. The structure and administration of the International Labor Organization make it uniquely effective because labor and management participate directly with governments not only in the work of the organization but also in its administration and in its organizational structure.

2. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

Temporary Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

Director General: Norris E. Dodd (American)

Afghanistan	Finland	Nicaragua
Australia	France	Norway
Austria	Greece	Pakistan
Belgium	Guatemala	Panama
Bolivia	Haiti	Paraguay
Brazil	Honduras	Peru
Burma	Hungary	Philippine Republic
Canada	Iceland	Poland
Ceylon	India	Portugal
Chile	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia
China	Iraq	Sweden
Colombia	Ireland	Switzerland
Costa Rica	Israel	Syria
Cuba	Italy	Thailand
Czechoslovakia	Korea	Turkey
Denmark	Lebanon	Union of South Africa
Dominican Republic	Liberia	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Luxembourg	United States of America
Egypt	Mexico	Uruguay
El Salvador	Netherlands	Venezuela
Ethiopia	New Zealand	Yugoslavia

The Food and Agriculture Organization was one of the first of the permanent United Nations organizations to be established, having come into existence in October 1945. Its functions are to stimulate governments to work together to raise the nutritional level of the world's populations, to improve the efficiency of the methods of production and distribution of agricultural and food products, and to better the living condition of rural populations. The organization's assessment budget for 1949 totaled \$5,000,000, toward which the United States contributed \$1,250,000, or 25 percent.

Its program is carried on under the direction of the annual conference, composed of all members of the organization, and the Council, composed of 18 member states elected for 3-year terms. The fifth session of the Conference approved an amendment to the Constitution which will provide for biennial meetings. The Council meets immediately preceding the conference sessions, at least once between conferences, and may meet on other occasions as necessary. Among its current activities, the fifth session of the Conference unanimously agreed to

participate in the technical assistance program initiated through the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and appointed a Committee on Commodity Problems composed of 14 nations to work on the question of international cooperation in the distribution of agricultural surpluses.

The decision was made by the Fao in 1949, after considering offers of permanent sites in Copenhagen, Geneva, Rome, Washington, and the United Nations site in New York, to establish its permanent headquarters in Rome.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

President: Eugene R. Black (American)

Vice president: Robert L. Garner (American)

Membership: Same as the member states of the International Monetary Fund, below, to which a state is required to belong before it can join the Bank.

The Executive Directors of the Bank meet in continuous session at the Bank's headquarters; the Board of Governors, on which each member state has a representative, meets annually. In September 1949, it met simultaneously with the Fund's Board in Washington. The administrative budget of the Bank for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, is \$4,125,369. Annual contributions are not required from member states either for the Bank or for the Monetary Fund.

During 1949 the Bank loaned for development almost \$220,000,000 to nine of its members in Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. The loans were for various projects as imported materials and equipment for a hydro-electric plant in El Salvador; agricultural and railroad equipment for India; and lumbering equipment for Yugoslavia and Finland. The total amount loaned by the Bank since it began operations is now \$744,100,000. In extending technical assistance this year, the Bank sent a comprehensive economic development mission to Colombia to make a general survey of the needs, potentialities, and problems of that country as a basis for a long-term investment program, and missions to assist many other countries, including Brazil, Egypt, Iraq, Peru, and Turkey. The purposes of such missions are to improve specific development projects, the financing of which the Bank has been requested to undertake; and to advise on economic development plans and on preparation of sound projects for later submission to the Bank.

The Bank's annual report, published in September 1949, indicates that "the Bank now has or can readily acquire sufficient resources to help finance all the sound, productive projects in its member countries which will be ready for financing in the next few years, which can appropriately be financed through repayable foreign loans and which cannot attract private capital."

4. INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director
Camille Gutt (Belgian)

Australia	Brazil	Colombia
Austria	Canada	Costa Rica
Belgium	Chile	Cuba
Bolivia	China	Czechoslovakia

Denmark	India	Peru
Dominican Republic	Iran	Philippine Republic
Ecuador	Iraq	Poland
Egypt	Italy	Syria
El Salvador	Lebanon	Thailand
Ethiopia	Luxembourg	Turkey
Finland	Mexico	Union of South Africa
France	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Greece	Nicaragua	United States
Guatemala	Norway	Uruguay
Honduras	Panama	Venezuela
Iceland	Paraguay	Yugoslavia

The Board of Executive Directors of the Fund meet in continuous session at the headquarters; the Board of Governors, on which each member state has a representative, meets annually. These two Boards are the principal organs through which the Fund handles matters of policy. The administrative budget of the Fund for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1950, is \$4,263,400. Annual contributions are not required from the members in the case of either the Fund or the Bank.

During the calendar year 1949, the Fund sold foreign exchange to its members in an amount of 79 million dollars bringing its total sales since the start of operations to 737 million U.S. dollars, 500 million Belgian francs, and 6 million pounds sterling. Three countries repurchased their currency from the Fund to a total of \$2,320,500. As a result of a decision taken in 1948, there were no transactions with Marshall Plan countries in 1949.

The widespread revaluation of currencies, accomplished under the aegis of the Fund in September 1949, followed thorough preparatory work and preliminary consultations on this subject within the Fund Board, and accordingly, when the definitive proposals were made, it was possible to act expeditiously.

Technical assistance constituted a large part of the Fund's activity in 1949. Missions for this purpose were dispatched to Austria, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippine Republic, Syria, Thailand, and the Union of South Africa as well as to all of the Western European countries.

5. INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

Secretary-General: Dr. Albert Roper (French)

Afghanistan	Cuba	India
Argentina	Czechoslovakia	Iraq
Australia	Denmark	Ireland
Austria	Dominican Republic	Israel
Belgium	Egypt	Italy
Bolivia	El Salvador	Jordan, Hashemite King-
Brazil	Ethiopia	dom of the
Burma	Finland	Lebanon
Canada	France	Liberia
Ceylon	Greece	Luxembourg
Chile	Guatemala	Mexico
China	Haiti	Netherlands
Colombia	Iceland	New Zealand

Nicaragua	Poland	Turkey
Norway	Portugal	Union of South Africa
Pakistan	Spain	United Kingdom
Paraguay	Sweden	United States
Peru	Switzerland	Venezuela
Philippines	Thailand	

This organization has followed an orderly and successful course, since its formation at the Chicago Conference in December 1944, toward fulfilling its basic purpose to "insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world." Its achievements have been accomplished through its annual Assembly, which met in Montreal in June 1949; its permanent Council of 21 contracting states, of which the United States is one; its Air Navigation and Air Transport Commissions, which sit concurrently with the Council at Montreal; and regional and special meetings covering such subjects as airport lighting, radio communication, and simplification of frontier formalities. Of particular interest in 1949 was the adoption of four additional annexes to the Icao Convention bringing the total to 10. The four cover airworthiness, registration of aircraft, facilitation of international air transport (border formalities), and aeronautical telecommunications. All the annexes are in the nature of technical standards and regulations governing international flight procedures. The organization's assessment budget for 1949 was Canadian \$2,649,685, the United States paying approximately 18.66 percent or Canadian \$494,377.

6. UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Paris, France

Director General: Jaime Torres Bodet (Mexican)

Deputy Director General: Walter H. Laves (American)

Afghanistan	El Salvador	New Zealand
Argentina	France	Norway
Australia	Greece	Pakistan
Austria	Haiti	Peru
Belgium	Honduras	Philippines
Bolivia	Hungary	Poland
Brazil	India	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Iran	Switzerland
Canada	Iraq	Syria
China	Israel	Thailand
Colombia	Italy	Turkey
Cuba	Lebanon	Union of South Africa
Czechoslovakia	Liberia	United Kingdom
Denmark	Luxembourg	United States
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Uruguay
Ecuador	Monaco	Venezuela
Egypt	Netherlands	

The purpose of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and better understanding among the peoples of the world by promoting international collaboration in education, science, and culture. Its program, as approved by its General Conference, seeks to stimulate, and on request actively supervise, several national efforts to wipe out illiteracy; to promote the broadest possible use of schools,

libraries, the press, publications, films, and radio for the dissemination of knowledge and the betterment of understanding among peoples; to facilitate the world-wide interchange of ideas, information, and cultural achievements by removing or reducing economic and technical barriers which now hamper the international flow of information; to facilitate the international collaboration of scientists and to make more widely available the results of their research; and to study social, political, and racial tensions and prejudices with a view to identifying their sources and initiating action to combat their spread among various peoples.

UNESCO's course of action is determined by its General Conference, the representative body of all member states, which meets annually to approve a program of work and vote a budget for the Organization. Interim decisions are made by an Executive Board of 18 experts, who serve in their personal capacities on behalf of the entire organization and not as representatives of their governments. An American is a member of this Board. The Secretariat, headed by the Director-General and a Deputy Director-General, comprises some 700 persons. The Organization's assessment budget for 1949 totaled \$7,639,372, of which the United States share was \$2,938,866 or 38.47 percent.

A unique feature of UNESCO is its constitutional requirement that each state shall "make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organization, preferably by the formation of a National Commission . . . National Commissions shall act in an advisory capacity to their representative delegations to the General Conference and to their governments in matters relating to the Organization. . . ." The United States National Commission, authorized by an act of Congress, is comprised of members representing some 60 national nongovernmental organizations and 40 others appointed by the Secretary of State. The Commission is under the chairmanship of George D. Stoddard and is assisted by the UNESCO Relations Staff in the Department of State.

7. WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: Dr. Brock Chisholm (Canadian)

Afghanistan	Dominican Republic ¹	Ireland
Albania	Egypt	Israel
Argentina ¹	El Salvador ¹	Italy
Australia	Ethiopia	Jordan, Hashemite
Austria	Ecuador ¹	Kingdom of the
Belgium	Finland	Korea
Bolivia ¹	France	Lebanon
Brazil ¹	Greece	Liberia
Burma	Guatemala	Luxembourg
Canada	Haiti ¹	Mexico ¹
Ceylon	Honduras ¹	Monaco
Chile ¹	Hungary	Netherlands
China	Iceland	New Zealand
Costa Rica ¹	India	Norway
Czechoslovakia	Iran	Pakistan
Denmark	Iraq	Paraguay ¹

¹ Members Pan American Sanitary Organization.

Peru	Sweden	United Kingdom
Philippines	Switzerland	United States of America ¹
Poland	Syria	Uruguay ¹
Portugal	Thailand	Venezuela ¹
Rumania	Turkey	Yugoslavia
Saudi Arabia	Union of South Africa	

States no longer considering themselves members

Bulgaria	Ukrainian Soviet	Union of Soviet Socialist
Byelorussian Soviet	Socialist Republic	Republics
Socialist Republic		

On September 1, 1948, the World Health Organization began its official existence as the specialized agency of the United Nations charged with responsibilities in all international health matters. For approximately 2 years before that date, an Interim Commission of the WHO developed a world-wide program for consideration by the Organization when it came into official being. The Interim Commission also continued programs begun by former international health bodies, such as a world-wide Epidemiological Information Service, and a program of technical and teaching assistance to the national health authorities of a number of countries. The United States joined the WHO on June 21, 1948. By December 31, 1949, the Organization has attained a membership of 68 nations.

Its organizational framework consists of the Health Assembly, the Executive Board, and the Secretariat. The Assembly, at which all member states are represented, meets annually and determines the policies and programs of the Organization. The Executive Board, composed of 18 persons designated by the member nations elected by the Assembly, among them the United States, meets at least twice a year to give effect to the decisions and policies of the Assembly. The Secretariat, headed by a Director-General, has the responsibility of carrying out the program of the Organization as directed by the Assembly and the Executive Board. In order to meet special regional needs and to avoid dangers of over-centralization, regional offices will eventually be established in six major geographical areas of the world delineated for this purpose. The Pan American Sanitary Bureau, located in Washington, D. C., serves as the regional office in the Western Hemisphere. New Delhi, India, is the regional headquarters for Southeast Asia. Alexandria, Egypt, is the headquarters for the eastern Mediterranean area. A temporary office to serve the European area has been established in Geneva.

In addition to its continuing technical services, the organization in 1949 engaged in extensive activities of an advisory and demonstrative nature, which already cover the field of malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal disease eradication or control. An important but little known aspect of work during the past year has been the preparation of international sanitary regulations to replace the existing international sanitary treaties, now out of date. It is hoped that this work will be completed early in 1950 and that the present confusion, so annoying to aviation and shipping as well as to health authorities, due to conflicting regulations and antiquated procedures, will be eliminated. The 1949 assessment budget was \$5,000,000, of which the United States contributed 38.54 percent.

¹ Members Pan American Sanitary Organization.

8. UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland

Secretary-General: Alois Muri (Swiss)

Afghanistan	Hungary	Saudi Arabia
Albania	Iceland	Sweden
Argentina	India	Switzerland
Australia	Iran	Syria
Austria	Iraq	Thailand
Belgian Congo	Ireland	Tunisia
Belgium	Italy	Turkey
Brazil	Japan	Ukrainian Soviet Social-
Bulgaria	Jordan, Hashemite King-	ist Republic
Burma	dom of the	Union of South Africa
Byelorussian Soviet So-	Korea	Union of Soviet Socialist
cialist Republic	Lebanon	Republics
Canada	Liberia	United Kingdom
Ceylon	Luxembourg	of Great Britain and
Chile	Mexico	Northern Ireland, the
China	Morocco (except the	whole of the British
Colombia	Spanish Zone)	overseas territories,
Costa Rica	Netherlands	including the colo-
Cuba	Curacao and Suri-	nies, the protectorates
Czechoslovakia	nam, Netherlands In-	and the territories
Denmark	dies	under mandate or un-
Dominican Republic	New Zealand	der trusteeship exer-
Ecuador	Nicaragua	cised by the Govern-
Egypt	Norway	ment of the United
El Salvador	Pakistan	Kingdom of Great Bri-
Ethiopia	Panama	tain and Northern Ire-
Finland	Paraguay	land
France	Peru	United States
Algeria, Indochina,	Philippines	of America, the whole
the whole of the oth-	Poland	of the possessions of
er overseas territo-	Portugal	the United States of
ries of the French Re-	the Portuguese col-	America
public and territories	onies in West Africa,	Uruguay
administered as such	the Portuguese col-	Vatican City
Greece	onies in East Africa,	Venezuela
Guatemala	in Asia and Oceania	Yemen
Haiti	Rumania	Yugoslavia
Honduras	San Marino	

The Universal Postal Union this year celebrated its 75th anniversary. The people of the world have come to accept without question, and indeed with little awareness of the Union, the assurance of the safe and rapid delivery of international communications by mail and parcel post, so important to commerce and cultural relations. This assurance has resulted from the accomplishment of the Union in welding all the countries of the world into "a single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence."

The activities of the Postal Union are regulated and carried on under the direction of its Congress, which meets every 5 years, and its Executive and Liaison

Committee. The United States is represented on the latter, which held its annual meeting in Bern in May 1949. Net expenditure for 1949 was approximately \$198,000, of which the United States contributed 4.4 percent.

9. INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Secretary-General: Franz von Ernst (Swiss)

Afghanistan	French Protectorate of	Philippines
Albania	Morocco and Tunisia	Poland
Argentina	Greece	Portugal
Australia	Guatemala	Portuguese colonies
Austria	Haiti	Rumania
Belgian Congo	Honduras	Saudi Arabia
Belgium	Hungary	Southern Rhodesia
Bolivia	Iceland	Sweden
Brazil	India	Switzerland
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Syria
Burma	Iran	Territories of France
Byelorussian Soviet So-	Iraq	Territories of United
cialist Republic	Ireland	States
Canada	Israel	Territories of United
Ceylon	Italy	Kingdom
Chile	Japan	Thailand
China	Lebanon	Turkey
Colombia	Liberia	Ukrainian Soviet So-
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	cialist Republic
Cuba	Mexico	Union of South Africa
Czechoslovakia	Monaco	Union of Soviet Socialist
Denmark	Netherlands	Republics
Dominican Republic	New Zealand	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Nicaragua	United States
Egypt	Norway	Uruguay
El Salvador	Pakistan	Vatican City
Ethiopia	Panama	Venezuela
Finland	Paraguay	Yemen
France	Peru	Yugoslavia

This Union, faced with extremely difficult problems, new in international relations, has sponsored an almost continuous series of meetings during the year toward obtaining cooperative action for the improvement and use of all kinds of telecommunication facilities. In particular its purpose has been to "effect allocation of the radio frequency spectrum and registration of radio frequency assignments in order to avoid harmful interference between radio stations of different countries" and to foster cooperation for "the establishment of rates as low as possible consistent with an efficient service."

In addition to its Administrative Council, which met in Geneva in September and October 1949, there have been held three regional meetings to consider the particular problems of Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and Asia, respectively; an aeronautical Radio Frequency meeting; meetings to consider the telephone and telegraph regulations; meetings dealing with television and with the division among members of high frequencies for broadcasting; and a continuous

session of the Provisional Frequency Board which is working on the problem of the over-all international frequency list in which are registered the requirements of and the frequencies reserved for all members.

The United States is taking an active role in this organization in keeping with our outstanding radio and cable interests and our special interests in the Voice of America. The ordinary budget for 1949 was approximately \$908,150, of which the United States contributed 8 percent.

10. INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: J. Donald Kingsley (American)

Australia	France	New Zealand
Belgium	Guatemala	Norway
Canada	Iceland	Switzerland ¹
China	Italy ¹	United Kingdom
Denmark	Luxembourg	United States
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

Established in 1947 as a preparatory commission and in 1948 as a full-fledged organization, the International Refugee Organization has succeeded in caring for, resettling, and repatriating most of the great numbers of refugees and displaced persons whom it took over after World War II, as stated in the text of this report. Its work represents one of the major humanitarian efforts of the United Nations.

Its activities are carried on under the direction of its General Council, composed of one representative of each member, which meets in regular session twice a year. Interim functions are performed by the Executive Committee, composed of the representatives of nine members of the Organization, including the United States, elected for a term of 2 years. The Executive Committee has met four times a year. The Organization's full budget, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, is \$4,500,000 for administrative expenses and \$150,060,500 for operational expenses. The United States share of administrative expenses is 39.89 percent and of operational expenses 45.75 percent, on the basis of participation by all members of the United Nations. The members of Iro during the year numbered only 18, and since total assessments for both administrative and operational expenses amounted to \$122,863,934, the United States contribution represents approximately 57 percent of this latter amount. The anticipated early completion of the main part of its task has led to planning for the termination of the organization.

11. WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (FORMATIVE)

Headquarters: Lausanne, Switzerland

Chief of Secretariat of the International Meteorological Organization:
G. Swoboda (Swiss)

The standardization of regulations governing the international exchange and use of weather information is being carried out by the International Meteorological Organization which has been in existence since 1878 and at the time of its last conference had 90 members. This organization will go out of existence when

¹ Nonmembers of the United Nations.

the new World Meteorological Organization convention, opened for signature October 11, 1947, enters into force, but meanwhile it is carrying on most of the functions which will eventually be assumed by the World Meteorological Organization.

The new international convention, which changes the basic structure of the old organization to that of a specialized agency of the United Nations and changes the name to World Meteorological Organization, is expected to go into effect within the next few months. Twenty-six of the 30 required ratifications of, or accessions to, the convention had been received by the end of 1949, including that of the United States:

Australia	Israel	Thailand
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic	Lebanon	Turkey
Burma	Mexico	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Czechoslovakia	Norway	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Dominican Republic	New Zealand	United Kingdom
Finland	Peru	United States
France	Philippines	Yugoslavia
Iceland	Rumania	
India	Sweden	
	Switzerland	

This organization is particularly concerned with standardizing the codes and procedures involved in collecting and reporting basic weather data essential to making accurate forecasts and in the establishment of international standards for providing meteorological service to users. Cooperative effort to obtain basic data for accurate weather forecasting is of the highest importance to safe transportation by air and sea as well as to agriculture and numerous industries.

Expenditures of the still active International Meteorological Organization for its fiscal year 1949 were approximately \$83,500, to which the United States contributed 4.6 percent. The United States is represented on the Executive Council of the International Meteorological Organization by Francis W. Reichelderfer. The work of this organization is of concern to all persons in their daily lives, even though many of its operations are unspectacular and remote from usual notice.

12. INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION: PREPARATORY COMMITTEE (FORMATIVE)

Headquarters: Transport and Communications Division, United Nations Secretariat, Lake Success, N. Y.

The Preparatory Committee is made up of—

Argentina	France	Norway
Australia	Greece	Sweden
Belgium	India	United Kingdom
Canada	Netherlands	United States

This proposed specialized agency in the maritime field will not come into existence until the requisite number of ratifications of its convention have been obtained. The convention, opened for signature March 6, 1948, is at present before the United States Senate for advice and consent to ratification. Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom have already ratified. The main purposes of the Organization will be to provide machinery for cooperation among governments on international shipping matters, particularly those re-

lating to governmental regulation and to safety and efficiency of navigation, and to encourage the removal of discriminatory action and unnecessary governmental restrictions. The organization will act through a biennial assembly, a council, and a maritime safety committee.

Pending the coming into force of the convention, a Preparatory Committee has been established to pave the way for the first full meeting of the new organization. Canada holds the chairmanship of this Committee, the interim secretariat functions being performed by the Director of the Transport and Communications Division of the United Nations Secretariat.

13. INTERIM COMMISSION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION (FORMATIVE)

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Executive Secretary: Eric Wyndham White

The Interim Commission consists of 52 of the governments which signed the Final Act at Habana. The Commission, in its plenary session held immediately after the close of the Habana Conference (the only such session so far convened), elected an Executive Committee of 18 members which exercises its functions in its behalf. The Executive Committee consists of—

Australia	Colombia	Italy
Benelux	Czechoslovakia	Mexico
(Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg)	Egypt	Norway
Brazil	El Salvador	Philippines
Canada	France	United Kingdom
China	Greece	United States
	India	

The Interim Commission was established on March 24, 1948, by a resolution of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment in Habana, Cuba. Its purpose is to perform certain administrative and organizational functions in the interim period prior to the convening of the first regular session of the International Trade Organization's Conference. Thus, the Interim Commission will convene the first session of the conference, submit the provisional agenda with related documents and recommendations, prepare a draft agreement of relationship between the Organization and the United Nations, and perform other similar functions.

The Executive Committee has held two meetings. In addition, an informal meeting was held at Annecy, France, in the summer of 1949 during the session of the Contracting Parties under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The United States was represented in the latter informal meetings by Woodbury Willoughby, the chief of its delegation to the meeting of the Contracting Parties.

At the informal meeting at Annecy, the Executive Committee made the necessary arrangements for the drafting of an authentic text of the charter of the International Trade Organization in Spanish and made plans for the convening of a final meeting of the Executive Committee and of the Commission itself. Several items of a substantive nature were brought before the Executive Committee at this time. These included a suggestion that chapter VI of the charter (dealing with commodities) be put into effect provisionally prior to the coming into effect of the charter itself and a suggestion that the Secretariat of the Interim Commission take action on behalf of the ITO to collate the comments

made by various governments upon the proposal of the International Chamber of Commerce for the simplification of international customs documents and formalities. (See the *Report of the International Chamber of Commerce on Barriers to the International Transport of Goods*.) The Executive Committee decided, however, that, in the light of the fact that the Interim Commission was not given any substantive powers, it was not authorized to take any action on these two proposals.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM, 1949

A. Missions

1. MISSION AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

The United States is represented by a permanent Mission at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. The principal function of the Mission is to assist the President and the Department of State in conducting United States participation in the United Nations. It carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in United Nations bodies at the headquarters of the United Nations and serves as the main channel between the Department of State and the United Nations organs, agencies, and commissions at the headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the United States Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly when the Assembly meets in New York.

Most of the members maintain resident offices in New York for their delegations to the several organs and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations. There are now 47 such permanent missions, including that of the United States, and others are contemplated. Some of these missions are combined with the consulates which foreign nations maintain in New York City. In addition four members maintain permanent delegations to the United Nations at their Embassies in Washington, from which their delegates commute to New York for participation in the work there.

The structure, organization, and functions of the United States Mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

- (1) The requirements of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.
- (2) The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (which are described below).
- (3) The President's Executive Order 9844.
- (4) The accumulated experience of the United States Delegations to the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations at London, and the sessions of the organs of the United Nations at its headquarters in New York and elsewhere.

In 1949, in order to strengthen United States representation in the United Nations, the original United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264 of the 79th Congress) was amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress. The principal effects of these amendments upon United States representation at United Nations Headquarters are as follows:

- (1) The Representative of the United States to the United Nations may now sit *ex officio* as United States Representative on any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations other than specialized agencies of the United Nations.

(2) A new position of Deputy Representative to the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary is created. The Deputy Representative is authorized to represent the United States in the Security Council of the United Nations, and may also sit *ex officio* as United States Representative on any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations other than specialized agencies. The amendment also retains the position of Deputy Representative to the Security Council which was authorized in the original Participation Act of 1945, so that there are now three persons authorized to represent the United States in the Security Council.

(3) Furthermore, in order to provide if necessary for special United States representation in the Security Council, the amendments provide that the President may designate any officer of the Department of State whose appointment was confirmed by the Senate to act, without additional compensation, for temporary periods as the Representative of the United States in the Security Council in the absence or disability of the above Representative and Deputy Representatives or in place of them in connection with a specific subject under discussion in the Security Council.

Executive Order 9844 of April 28, 1947, under which the Mission has been organized, remained effective at the end of 1949 pending amendments early in 1950 to take into account the effects of the above legislation. According to the standing Order, the Mission is comprised of the following:

The Representative at the seat of the United Nations, the Deputy Representative to the Security Council, Representatives in the Economic and Social Council and its Commissions, the Trusteeship Council, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Commission for Conventional Armaments and the Military Staff Committee, and representatives to organs and agencies of the United Nations hereafter appointed or designated and included within the United States Mission to the United Nations herein provided for, together with their deputies, staffs and offices. . . .

Although the main source of necessary staff work for the conduct of United States participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State itself, the Mission has a staff consisting of a small number of advisers and a secretariat under a Secretary-General and a Deputy Secretary-General. The advisers assist the United States representatives on the problems arising in their work in the international bodies, and the secretariat deals with the administrative operations and provides the Mission and the United States Delegations to the General Assembly with United States and United Nations documents, reference work, daily summary reports of United Nations meetings—which are also sent to the Department of State—telephone and telegraphic services, and transportation, personnel, fiscal, supply, and maintenance services. The Mission is equipped to deal with an almost uninterrupted series of conference activities throughout the year. When extraordinary duties of negotiation and technical services are involved during certain sessions of the various councils and commissions, and always during the General Assembly sessions, temporary assistants are added to the Secretariat staff, and of course advisers are assigned by the Department of State or other government agencies to the Assembly Delegations sent to represent the United States.

2. OTHER UNITED STATES MISSIONS

The representation regularly maintained at the seat of the United Nations by the United States provides for our participation in most of the principal organs and other bodies of the United Nations. The exceptions are the General Assembly, to which a delegation is always sent, the International Court of Justice, and the United Nations Secretariat, on neither of which is there national representation, and the regional economic commissions of the United Nations to which separate representatives are sent.

Several special missions in addition were maintained by the United States during 1949. These were necessary to permit participation effectively in the work of certain regional commissions and field missions of the United Nations and in certain of the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

A United States Representative served with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine—created in December 1948—which established temporary headquarters at Jerusalem but conducted meetings at Lausanne, Switzerland, during the latter part of 1949. Another United States Representative served with the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, which met not only at Batavia (now Djakarta) in Java but also at The Hague. Also, a United States Representative took part on the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, with headquarters in Athens, Greece, throughout the year. Meetings of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, on which the United States has a representative, were held not only at Karachi and New Delhi but also at Geneva, Switzerland.

The work of the above Commissions is described in the text of this report. In addition, the United States maintains at Geneva a permanent resident delegation to the Economic Commission for Europe. This delegation consists of an Alternate United States Representative, several advisers, and a clerical staff. It has worked with the Commission and its committees in efforts to readjust the production and distribution of coal, electric power, lumber, steel, and other commodities for the purpose of assisting the economic reconstruction of Europe. The United States also sends representatives to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, with temporary headquarters at Singapore, and to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, with headquarters first at Santiago, Chile, and later at Habana, Cuba. Also at Geneva during 1949 were a United States Representative to the Provisional Frequency Board of the International Telecommunication Union, and a United States Representative for Specialized Agency Affairs, charged with maintaining liaison for the United States with the International Refugee Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the World Health Organization.

Mention should be made of one other special United States mission, the Office of the United States Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization at Montreal, Canada. The permanent staff resident in Montreal includes the United States Representative to the Council, the Alternate United States Representative to the Council (who is also the United States Representative on the Air Transport Committee), and the Air Navigation Commission member.

B. United States Representatives to the United Nations, Its Organs, Subsidiary Bodies, and the Specialized Agencies During 1949

United States Representative and Chief of United States Mission to the United Nations:

Warren R. Austin

Deputy United States Representative:

Ernest A. Gross

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Second Part, Third Regular Session, New York, Apr. 5–May 18, 1949

Representatives:

Warren R. Austin, Chairman of Delegation
John Foster Dulles
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Philip C. Jessup
Benjamin V. Cohen

Alternate Representatives:

Ray Atherton
Willard L. Thorp
Dean Rusk
Francis B. Sayre
Erwin D. Canham

Fourth Regular Session, New York, Sept. 20–Dec. 10, 1949

Representatives:

Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson, Chairman of Delegation
Warren R. Austin
Philip C. Jessup
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
John Sherman Cooper

Alternate Representatives:

Benjamin V. Cohen¹
Charles Fahy
Wilson M. Compton
John D. Hickerson
Mrs. Ruth B. Rohde
John C. Ross¹

Special Committee on Information Transmitted under Article 73 (e) of the Charter

Representative:

Benjamin Gerig

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

Representative:

Warren R. Austin

Deputy Representatives:

Philip C. Jessup, resigned Feb. 10, 1949
Charles P. Noyes, beginning Feb. 10, 1949

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative:

Warren R. Austin

Deputy Representatives:

Philip C. Jessup, resigned Mar. 10, 1949
Ernest A. Gross, beginning Oct. 14, 1949
John C. Ross, beginning Oct. 14, 1949

¹ Upon the departure from the Delegation of the Secretary of State, Ambassador Austin assumed the Chairmanship, Mr. Cohen served as a Representative and Mr. Ross was appointed as an Alternate Representative.

THE UNITED NATIONS ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Representative :

Warren R. Austin

Deputy Representative :

Frederick H. Osborn

THE COMMISSION FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

Representative :

Warren R. Austin

Deputy Representatives :

Frederick H. Osborn, resigned Apr. 1, 1949

Frank C. Nash, beginning Apr. 2, 1949

THE MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

Representatives :

Army : Lt. Gen. W. D. Crittenger

Navy : Vice Adm. B. H. Bieri, U.S.N.

Air Force : Lt. Gen. Hubert R. Harmon, U.S.A.F.

Deputy Representatives :

Army : Col. Pierre Mallett

Navy : Rear Adm. W. K. Harrill, U.S.N.

Air Force : Col. L. H. Rodieck, U.S.A.F.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Representative :

Willard L. Thorp

Deputy Representatives :

Leroy D. Stinebower

Walter M. Kotschnig

Ad Hoc Committee on Declaration of Death of Missing Persons

United States Representative :

H. Graham Morison

Commissions of the Economic and Social Council and United States Representatives:*Social:*

Arthur J. Altmeyer

Katharine F. Lenroot, Alternate

Narcotics:

Harry J. Anslinger

Transport and Communications:

George P. Baker

Fiscal:

Edward F. Bartelt

Population:

Philip M. Hauser

Status of Women:

Dorothy Kenyon

Economic and Employment:

Isador Lubin

Statistical:

Stuart A. Rice

Human Rights:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council:*Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*

United States Representative (Fifth Session) :

Myron M. Cowen

Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East:

United States Representative (Meeting of March, 1949) :

Edward F. Stanton

Economic Commission for Europe:

United States Representative:

W. Averell Harriman

Alternate Representatives:

Paul R. Porter, resigned Sept. 7, 1949

Robert E. Asher, beginning Nov. 30, 1949

Economic Commission for Latin America:

United States Representative:

Claude G. Bowers

William A. Fowler, Alternate, resigned Mar. 25, 1949

Acting Representative (Second Session):

Albert F. Nufer

Acting Deputy Representative (Second Session):

H. Gerald Smith

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

United States Representative:

Francis B. Sayre

Deputy Representative:

Benjamin Gerig

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

United States Representative, Executive Board:

Katharine F. Lenroot

Dallas W. Dort, Alternate

Louis K. Hyde, Alternate

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND SECURITY COUNCIL*[General Assembly] United Nations Committee on the Balkans*

United States Representative:

Gerald A. Drew (Formerly Deputy Representative. Appointed Representative
Mar. 2, 1949)Henry R. MacLean appointed Acting Deputy Representative during temporary
absence from Athens of U. S. Representative*[Security Council] United Nations Commission for Indonesia*

United States Representative:

H. Merle Cochran, resigned Dec. 27, 1949

Acting Representative:

Edward A. Dow, Jr., beginning Dec. 28, 1949

[Security Council] United Nations Commission on India and Parkistan

United States Representative:

J. Klahr Huddle, resigned Oct. 12, 1949

Deputy Representative:

Robert B. Macatee

[General Assembly] United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

United States Representatives:

Mark Foster Ethridge, resigned June 25, 1949

Paul A. Porter, July 30-Sept. 15, 1949

Ely E. Palmer, beginning Nov. 2, 1949

Acting Deputy Representative:

James W. Barco (beginning Dec. 31, 1949)

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS*Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

United States Member, Fao Council:

Albert J. Loveland

Alternate United States Member:

Fred J. Rossiter

Associate United States Member:

Edward G. Cale, resigned Nov. 14, 1949

John W. Evans, appointed Nov. 14, 1949

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

United States Governor, Board of Governors:

John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury

Alternate United States Governor:

William L. Clayton, resigned Aug. 27, 1949

Successor not yet appointed

United States Executive Director:

Eugene R. Black, resigned July 1, 1949, upon appointment as President of the Bank

William McChesney Martin, Jr., recess appointment made Dec. 22, 1949

Alternate United States Executive Director:

John S. Hooker

International Civil Aviation Organization

United States Representative to the Council:

Rear Adm. Paul A. Smith, United States Coast & Geodetic Survey

Alternate United States Representative to the Council and United States Representative on the Air Transport Committee:

Paul T. David

United States Member, Air Navigation Commission:

H. Walker Percy, resigned Aug. 1, 1949

Claude H. Smith, appointed Aug. 2, 1949

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office:

Philip M. Kaiser, beginning May 18, 1949 (Mr. Kaiser's predecessor was David A. Morse who served from Aug. 23, 1946, until his appointment as Director-General of the Ilo on Sept. 6, 1948. The position was vacant from Sept. 1948 to May 1949).

International Monetary Fund

United States Governor, Board of Governors:

John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury

Alternate United States Governor:

William L. Clayton, resigned Aug. 27, 1949

Successor not yet appointed

United States Executive Director:

Andrew N. Overby, resigned Feb. 8, 1949, upon appointment as Deputy Managing Director

Frank A. Southard, Jr., appointed Feb. 8, 1949

Alternate United States Executive Director:

Henry J. Tasca, resigned Dec. 21, 1949

John S. Hooker, recess appointment made Dec. 22, 1949

International Refugee Organization

United States Representative, Executive Committee:

(Appointed only at the time of individual sessions; George L. Warren served in this capacity at the 1949 sessions)

Alternate United States Representative, Executive Committee:

(Appointed only at the time of individual sessions; Alvin Roseman served in this capacity at the 1949 sessions)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

American Member in personal capacity on Executive Board (appointed by Organization itself):

George D. Stoddard, resigned Oct. 1, 1949

Luther H. Evans, appointed Oct. 1, 1949

Universal Postal Union

United States Member, Executive Liaison Committee:

Paul Aiken, Assistant Postmaster General

Alternate United States Member, Executive Liaison Committee:

John J. Gillen, Deputy Assistant Postmaster General

World Health Organization

United States Member, Executive Board:

Dr. H. Van Zile Hyde

International Telecommunication Union

United States Representative, Administrative Council:

Francis Colt deWolf

Alternate United States Representative, Administrative Council:

Harvey B. Otterman

*World Meteorological Organization*¹*International Meteorological Organization*²

United States Representative, Executive Council:

Francis W. Reichelderfer, Chief, United States Weather Bureau

(Meetings held in London during 1949 attended by Norman Hagen, Meteorological Attaché, American Embassy, London)

*Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization*¹

No meetings of Preparatory Committee held during 1949

*International Trade Organization*¹

United States Representative, Executive Committee:

(Appointed at time of individual sessions; Woodbury Willoughby attended the informal meeting of the Executive Committee which was held at Annecy, France, during the session of the Contracting Parties under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.)

¹ In preparatory stage.

² Not a specialized agency. A new International Convention changing the basic structure of this Organization to that of a Specialized Agency of the United Nations and changing the title to the World Meteorological Organization is expected to go into effect within the next few months.

DOCUMENTARY PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

These are found in many libraries throughout the country. The resolutions of the General Assembly in 1949 appear in the *Official Record* of the Third Session of the General Assembly, Part II, April 5–May 18, 1949, and in the *Official Record* of the Fourth Session of the General Assembly, Resolutions, September 20–December 10, 1949. The resolutions of the Security Council are available in supplements to the *Official Record* on each case before it. The Economic and Social Council resolutions are in its *Official Record*: The *Official Record* of the Eighth Session of the Economic and Social Council, February 7–March 18, 1949, Resolutions, Supplement No. 1; and Fourth Year, Ninth Session, July 5–August 15, 1949, Resolutions, Supplement No. 1. The Resolutions of the Trusteeship Council are found in the *Official Record* of the Fourth Session of the Trusteeship Council, January 24–March 25, 1949, Resolutions, Supplement No. 1, and in the *Official Record* of the Fifth Session of the Trusteeship Council, June 15–July 22, 1949, Resolutions, Supplement No. 1.

Published United Nations documents—including final reports, records, and resolutions—may be purchased from the United Nations Sales Agent, the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. A catalog describing the publications for sale is supplied by the United Nations Sales Agent upon request. In addition to the published documents, mimeographed documents of the organs of the United Nations may be purchased from the United Nations directly. Inquiries and orders for such documents should be addressed to the Sales Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, N. Y.

The Department of State periodically issues important reports on the United Nations, reports of United States Delegations to United Nations meetings, and separate pamphlets and documents dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. Examples of such publications are *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates*, 1949 (Department of State publication 3655), and *Patterns of Cooperation* (Department of State publication 3735). A special publication containing background information is now available under the title of *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939–1945* (Department of State publication 3580), issued in 1950. Information and documents of current interest are contained in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication. Lists of all relevant Departmental publications may be obtained from the Division of Publications, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.



